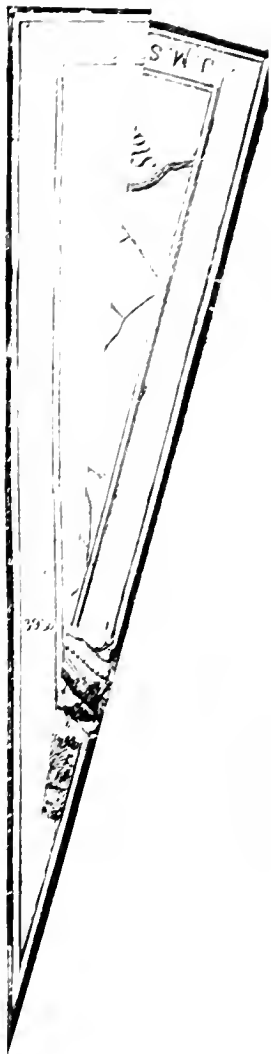
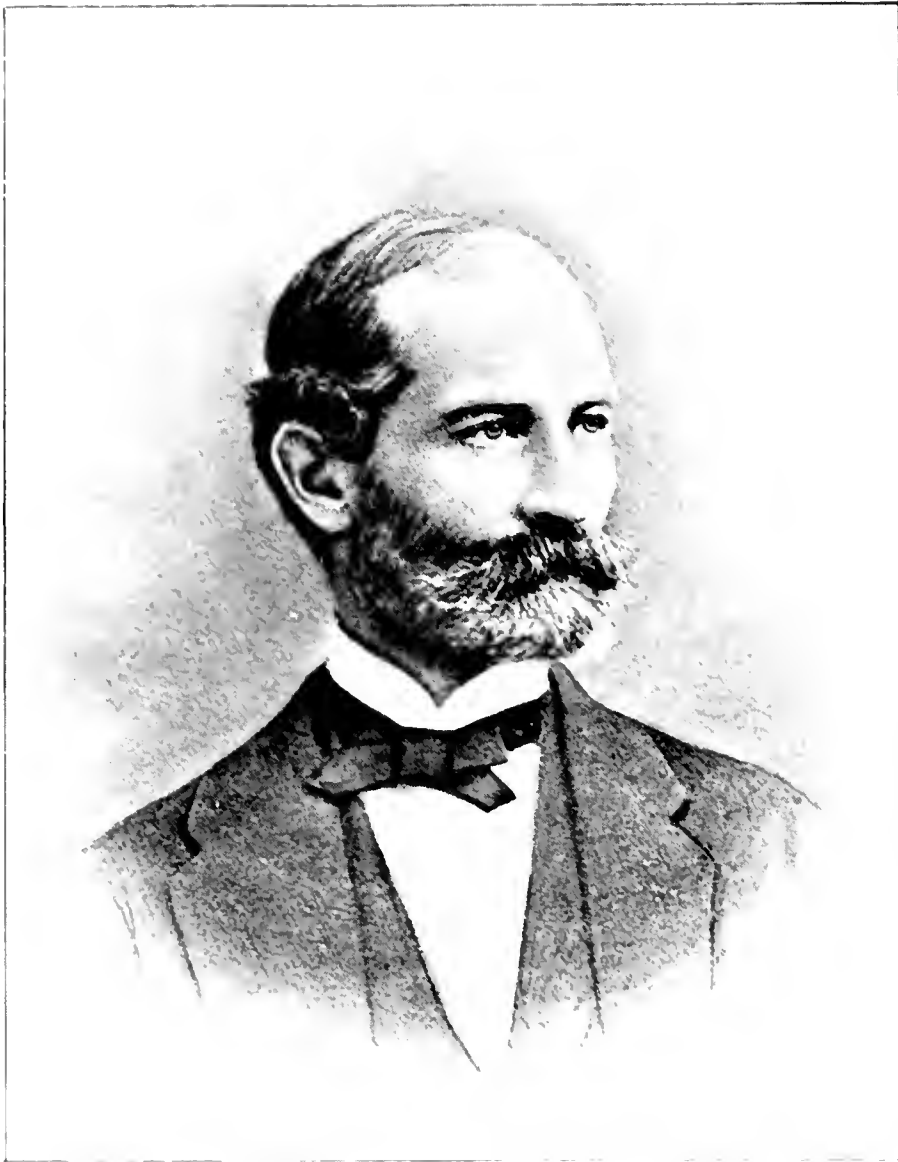




COLONEL CHAPMAN BIDDLE





COLONEL CHAPMAN BIDDLE.

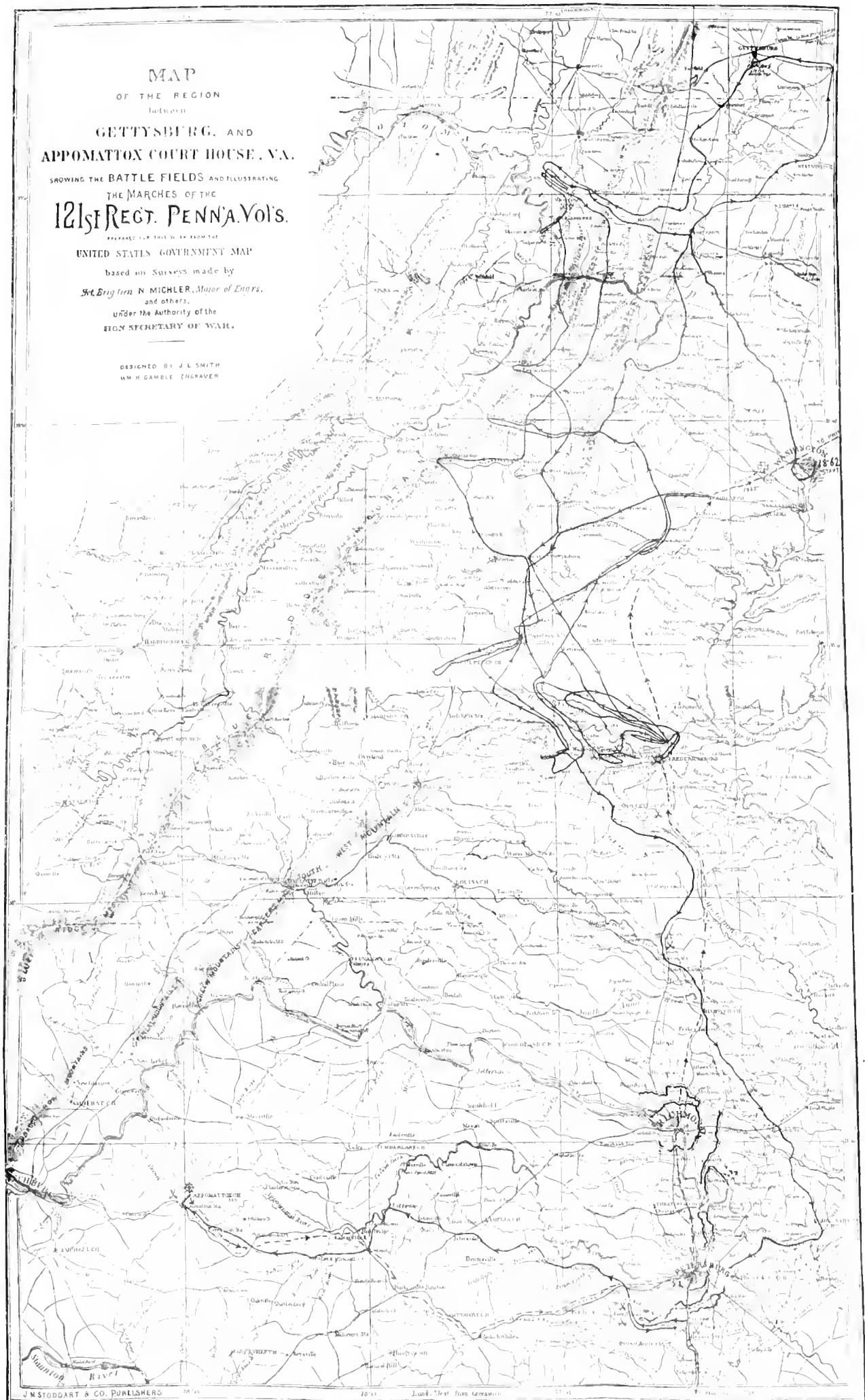
MAP
OF THE REGION
between
**GETTYSBURG. AND
APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, VA.**

SHOWING THE BATTLE FIELDS AND ILLUSTRATING
THE MARCHES OF THE
121st REGT. PENN'A. VOL'S.

PREPARED FOR THIS BY FROM THE
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT MAP
based on Surveys made by

*Sgt. Brig Gen N. MICHLER, Major of Engrs.,
and others.*
under the Authority of the
BIGN SECRETARY OF WAR.

DESIGNED BY J. L. SMITH
WM. H. GAMBLE ENGRAVER



HISTORY

OF THE

121st Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers



BY THE

SURVIVORS' ASSOCIATION.

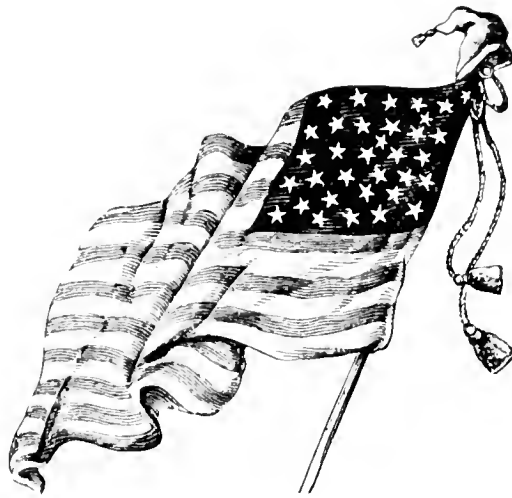
Original in the collection of the Pennsylvania State Archives

"AN ACCOUNT FROM THE RANKS."

PHILADELPHIA, PA :
PRESS OF BURK & MCFETRIDGE CO.,
306 AND 308 CHESTNUT ST.
1893.

Copy 2

4690712



PRINCIPAL ENGAGEMENTS
IN WHICH THE
ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIRST REGIMENT PENNA. VOLS.
BORE A PART.

Fredericksburg, Va.,	December 13, 1862
Chancellorsville, Va.,	May 3-5, 1863
Gettysburg, Pa.,	July 1-3, 1863
Wilderness, Va.,	May 5-7, 1864
Spotsylvania, Va.,	May 8-20, 1864
North Anna, Va.,	May 23-27, 1864
Totopotomay, Va.,	May 28-31, 1864
Bethesda Church, Va.,	June 1-5, 1864.
Cold Harbor, Va.,	June 6-12, 1864
Petersburg, Va.,	June, 1864, to March, 1865
Weldon Railroad, Va.,	August 21, 1864
Poplar Grove Church, or Peeble's Farm, Va.,	October 1, 1864
Dabney's Mill, or Hatcher's Run, Va., . .	February 6-7, 1865
Boydton Plank Road, Va.,	March 31, 1865
Five Forks, Va.,	April 1, 1865
Appomattox Court House, Va.,	April 9, 1865

PREFACE.

The survivors of the 121st Regt. Penna. Vols., believing that their friends would be interested in a detailed account of the various campaigns and engagements in which the regiment participated, resolved, September 6, 1886, that a committee of three should be appointed to compile a history of the regiment. In June, 1887, this committee was increased to ten members, so as to include a member from each company, in order that the details of the work could be more readily and satisfactorily accomplished. This committee was composed of—

Company "A," GEORGE E. RIDGWAY.

Company "B," A. B. MARKWARD.

Company "C," GEORGE S. DEDIER.

Company "D," JOHN GALBRAITH.

Company "E," WM. W. STRONG.

Company "F," J. M. CLAPP.

Company "G," ROBERT JOHNSON.

Company "H," RICHARD S. SHUTE.

Company "I," JOSEPH GREGSON.

Company "K," SAMUEL ARRISON.

W. W. STRONG, *Chairman*; JOHN GALBRAITH, *Secretary*.

September 5, 1887, it was still further augmented by the addition of—

Company "C," JOSHUA L. CHILDS.

Company "E," THOMAS FOLEY.

Company "G," JAMES H. WATSON.

Company "H," CHARLES M. WILLS.

Company "I," THOMAS SIMPSON.

Company "I," WM. D. BALDWIN.

Company "K," JOSHUA Garsed.

In carrying out the resolution of September 6, 1886, the Committee has confined its labors to the collection of such facts as should necessarily appear, together with a few extracts from other publications deemed advantageous. The work has been accomplished in great part through the valuable assistance of Mrs. Chapman Biddle, who kindly loaned the letters written by Colonel Biddle during his connection with the regiment, and from which many extracts are incorporated. Among the survivors of the regiment who have given valuable

assistance are notably Captain Joseph G. Rosengarten, Captain J. M. Clapp, John Galbraith, Frank H. Evans, Edward D. Knight and Richard A. Dempsey.

We are also greatly indebted to Comrade John L. Smith, publisher of the History of the 118th Penna. Vols., and to J. H. Stine, the historian of the First Army Corps, for information.

Care has been taken that the accounts of the various movements, and engagements, as far as possible, should be accurate, neither adding to nor taking from the actual facts anything for the sake of embellishment. Some apparent discrepancies may be noticed between the losses as given in various engagements and the losses noted as having been officially reported to the War Department. While the records of the War Department should, and in most cases do, furnish reliable information, the fact is, so far as casualties are concerned, they cannot be implicitly relied on. This may be accounted for by the manner in which, and the circumstances under which, the reports were made. After an engagement, one of the first duties of the regimental commander was to ascertain and report the number of men present for duty and the number of casualties, the latter being classified as killed, wounded and missing in action. This information was made up from the reports of company commanders present, who had, of course, to depend, to a great extent, on their own observations and those of their subordinates. It is easy to understand how mistakes should occur after a prolonged engagement during which the troops made rapid movements either in advance or retreat, and particularly so where an engagement terminated with a hasty retrograde movement during which the fallen comrades fell into the hands of the advancing adversaries.

In such cases many who were reported killed were but disabled, and afterward reported for duty. Some who were killed were reported wounded, while many who were killed or wounded were merely reported as missing in action.

We have striven in this work to report such information correctly and to record all the facts as we now know them to have occurred.

It is desired that the contents of this volume be carefully scrutinized, particularly by the surviving members of the regiment and others interested, and that any inaccuracies, errors or omissions of important facts, be reported to the undersigned, so that, in the event of another edition being published, corrections may be made.

WM. W. STRONG.

VILLANOVA, DELAWARE CO., PA., May 30, 1893.

Companies "I" and "A," First Pennsylvania Artillery.

The events leading up to the formation of the 121st Regt. Penna. Vols. may be traced to a company of citizen soldiers organized as early as 1844, when Philadelphia was overrun by disorderly mobs engaged in the destruction of life and property, and against whom the mayor and city councils were compelled to call on the citizens for protection.

We find it recorded that—

"At a meeting of gentlemen assembled at Evans' Hotel, George street, on Friday afternoon, July 12, 1844, for the purpose of forming a volunteer company under the recent ordinance of councils, Mr. J. H. Markland was called to the chair and John W. Field was appointed secretary."

"The proceedings of councils with reference to the raising of further volunteer corps for the defense of the city were read—and the subject for consideration was a call for those 'ready and willing to act within the limits of the city and county of Philadelphia on any emergency in which their services may be required by the mayor or sheriff to assist in maintaining the public peace.'"

The organization thus formed was designated as Company "I," First Regiment Pennsylvania Artillery, and on July 17, 1844, elected John Cadwallader captain.

Within a few weeks of organization the following officers were elected:—

First Lieutenant, J. W. Markland; First Second Lieutenant, John W. Field; Second Second Lieutenant, Bernard Henry, Jr.; Third Lieutenant, William P. Foulke; First Sergeant, Chapman Biddle; Second Sergeant, Lewis S. Ware; Third Sergeant, Thomas C. Rockhill, Jr.; Fourth Sergeant, H. W. Ducachet, Jr.; Fifth Sergeant, C. I. Biddle; First Corporal, Edward Bacon; Second Corporal, A. G. M. Bowen; Third Corporal, J. B. Beers; Fourth Corporal, F. W. Hemsley; Chapman Biddle was elected First Lieutenant November 10, 1846.

The company was dissolved on Monday, May 12, 1848, by resolution.

On the threatening of troubles in 1861, Colonel Biddle again organized a force composed of some of his old comrades of Company "I" and of many younger men. Company "A" was a capital school in which many who subsequently became good officers in both the regular and the volunteer forces, were first trained. Both in the armory and in camp at Chadd's Ford, as well as in drill and exercises in the Park, the members of Company "A" were thoroughly instructed, and of its members who afterwards served in the field were Captain F. H. Furness, of the Sixth Penna. Cavalry; Captain T. C. Williams, of the regular army; Captain James M. Linnard, Jr.; Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, of the medical corps organized for the military hospitals in and near Philadelphia; Major Harry C. Egbert, of the regular army, in which he is still serving with great distinction; Colonel John M. Gries, who died of wounds received in command of a volunteer regiment; Major A. G. Rosengarten, who fell at the head of his regiment, the 15th Pennsylvania (Anderson) Cavalry, at the battle of Stone River, Tenn.; Captain William Eliot Furness, who served through the war in a Massachusetts regiment; Dr. William F. Norris, who was on duty as medical officer in Washington; Captain Charles Chauncey; Joseph B. Blakiston, who died in the service, a member of the 15th Penna. Cavalry; Captain Charles E. Cadwallader, of the 6th Penna. Cavalry, and a distinguished member of General Meade's staff; General Isaac J. Wistar, who commanded a regiment and a brigade with great credit. Besides those of its members who became officers of the 121st Penna., a large number under Captain H. D. Landis took part in the two short, but severe, summer campaigns of 1862 and 1863, in the defense of Pennsylvania against rebel invasions, and showed soldierly qualities of the highest order, winning for themselves the praise of their commanding officers for conduct largely the result of the traditions of Company "I" and the training of Company "A" under their able captains. Of the members of Company "I," Colonel Charles J. Biddle distinguished himself both in the Mexican War and in the War of the Rebellion; Colonel R. A. Tilghman served with great credit; Colonel (now Judge) Craig Biddle was on the staff of General Patterson; I. Spencer Miller organized a battery, which he took to the front during the call for help to resist the invasions of the State in 1862 and 1863; General Thomas L. Kane was a general officer of volunteers, and gained great credit during the Rebellion by his distinguished gallantry; Captain Henry D. Landis twice took his artillery company to the front, in 1862 and again in 1863, with Lieutenant Perkins, Sergeant William Henry Rawle, and many of his old comrades of Company "I" and Company "A;" Major Henry J. Biddle fell in front of Richmond,

serving with great distinction on General McCall's staff; Colonel Tschudy, too, was killed in action at the head of his regiment of volunteers.

The following list of members of Company "I," First Penna. Artillery, organized in 1844, and of Company "A," a reorganization of the original company in 1861, in which will be recognized the names of some of the most prominent citizens of Philadelphia, provided the nucleus around which, in 1862, was formed the 121st Regt. Penna. Vols.:—

Company "I."—H. M. Smith, A. H. Smith, J. S. Serrill, A. C. Rockhill, Lewis Carr, Theodore Cuyler, George Helmuth, Joseph H. Roach, Francis Sims, C. E. Smith, T. G. Van Buren, Thos. Webster, Jr., A. Biddle, N. B. Brown, W. K. Conrad, H. Hopkins, M. P. Henry, J. Maitland, A. R. McHenry, E. C. Andrews, Jas. H. Castle, St. G. Croghan, Wm. H. Stewart, J. West Nevins, R. A. Tilghman, J. T. Thomas, Dr. Chas. Kuhn, R. C. McMurtrie, W. M. Tilghman, G. W. Biddle, J. B. England, W. E. Evans, A. Henry, Jr., J. M. Hollingshead, T. A. Newhall, J. C. Perry, S. W. Reynolds, B. C. Tilghman, Craig Biddle, C. C. Clark, Jno. Fallon, E. S. Miller, W. A. Porter, W. H. Rawle, L. A. Scott, L. Turnbull, Clement Biddle, B. Henry, P. P. Morris, Thomas L. Kane, Samuel Wilcox, Theo. Heermann, Henry D. Landis, Chas. S. Pancoast, Henry Thouron, Henry M. White, Saml. B. Hoppin, Jno. T. Killé, Robt. P. Kane, Hugh Nisbet, J. F. Throckmorton, Henry S. Hagert, Gerardus Clarkson, Chas. F. Desmond, Francis Hook, George Griscom, B. F. Vandyke, Geo. A. Pinchin, C. Wheeler, Jr., T. Richards, J. A. McHenry, H. J. Biddle, Alex. Henry, S. Reynolds, G. H. Roset, Richard Nevins, C. M. Jackson, Jos. Jones, Jr., Jno. Lambert, Geo. R. Smith, I. M. Sanderson, Richard Duane, J. P. Hutchinson, Chas. M. Siter, W. S. Toland, J. H. Wheeler, J. B. Barey, I. R. Tunis, J. H. Creighton, E. T. Ash, J. S. Robbins, O. Montgomery, M. Tschudy, W. S. Stewart, C. T. Myers, H. St. C. Ash, S. B. Hopkins, J. A. Swaby, W. McQuinn, W. J. Carter, J. M. Kibbin, J. G. Brinkle, E. C. Andrews, W. T. Wilcox, H. Nisbit, I. Price, M. Lewis, F. Sarmiento, David Webster, Jno. Workman.

Company "A.":—Chas. E. Smith, Clement Biddle, Wm. Henry Rawle, E. Spencer Miller, Clement B. Penrose, Aubrey H. Smith, Z. Poulson Dobson, Frank M. Etting, Franklin Shippen, R. C. McMurtrie, John Lambert, Horace Howard Furness, F. H. Furness, Henry Wharton, C. H. Hutchinson, Henry S. Lowber, T. Cobb Williams, James M. Linnard, Jr., James Parsons, Jas. H. Castle, Alex. Biddle, Edw. Pennington, Jr., John Givinn, R. Eggesfield Griffith, James S.

Cox, Wm. F. Judson, W. Parker Foulke, Wm. S. Stewart, J. Ledyard Hodge, James T. Mitchell, James W. Paul, Victor Guillou, Atherton Blight, A. I. Fish, Wm. T. Wilcox, John Samuel, Saml. Lewis, M. D., Wm. L. Mactier, Lewis Stover, J. M. Etting, Horace M. Guillou, Edw. S. Buckley, John T. Killé, S. Weir Mitchell, M. D., Thos. M. Hall, Wm. Meredith, William A. Ingham, Cadwallader Biddle, A. Chas. Barclay, F. F. Westcott, C. J. Stillé, J. D. Sergeant, Caldwell K. Biddle, Samuel C. Perkins, C. W. Littell, Geo. W. Wollaston, Geo. C. Morris, Wm. R. Ramberger, Robt. P. Kane, Geo. H. Biddle, P. P. Morris, S. Emlen Meigs, Benj. W. Richards, John Wyeth, J. H. Wheeler, J. T. Thomas, Harry C. Egbert, F. W. Hemsley, Simon Gratz, W. G. Thomas, W. R. Buck, W. Russell West, John B. Austin, Oliver A. Judson, M. D., Howard Richards, S. Henry Norris, Ed. R. Robinson, Geo. K. Ziegler, A. S. Letchworth, Thos. R. Tunis, Geo. Griscom, Edmund Lewis, Samuel Dickson, Robt. Burton, Wm. S. Price, John M. Gries, John G. Watmough, Jr., Horace Fassitt, Henry B. Coxe, Jos. J. Wheeler, E. T. Potter, Jos. G. Rosengarten, A. G. Rosengarten, Alfred Devereau, W. Z. Florence, F. H. Florence, Edw. C. Pechin, H. Armitt Brown, Wm. Elliott Furness, Dr. Wm. H. Gobrecht, Frank Moss, Jos. Lea, Wm. F. Norris, Joshua Spring, Al. A. Outerbridge, Chas. C. Jackson, A. B. McKee, Stephen B. Irwin, Wm. B. Hanna, W. C. Atwood, Fred. Brown, Jr., Richard L. Ashhurst, Jas. W. Hazlehurst, Robt. Eden Brown, W. T. Meredith, Jno. L. Powell, T. Ellwood Zell, H. B. Rosengarten, H. C. Thompson, Thaddeus Webb, Jas. M. Longacre, John M. Clarkson, Thomas Hart, Jr., R. Stuart Hill, William Hill, Wm. S. Vaux, Eugene Devereaux, Thomas Stillman, G. Craig Heberton, Geo. M. Conarro, Jos. G. Berg, Saml. H. Paul, Edwin A. Woodward, Wm. R. Brown, Charles Chauncey, Clifford P. MacCalla, John Horn, Jr., W. Harrison Eisenbrey, Harry Harper, Theo. Wernwag, R. Heber Alter, Harry Peale, Jos. B. Blakiston, Jas. L. Claghorn, Chas. B. Durborow, Saml. Bunting, Washington L. Atlee, Jr., Samuel L. Taylor, Chas. E. Cadwallader, Fred Graff, J. Alfred Kay, Wm. M. Burgin, Simon Stern, J. Howard Wurts, C. B. Showell, John F. Keene, Nathan Meyers, John B. Meyers, John H. Atwood, Chas. McCrea, John A. Lewis, S. Parkman Blake, Jr., John Chapman, Frank Rosengarten, Isaac Gerhart, J. A. Marshall, David Boyer Brown, Wm. Robson, Benj. Johnson, Edw. M. Paxson, Robt. E. Griffith, Jno. Steel Twells, Chas. L. Atlee, William Reed, John H. Budd, L. R. Koecket, Isaac J. Wister, Lewis Lewis, Jas. H. Peabody.

BRIEF HISTORY

Of the Enlistment and Organization of what is know as the Western Part of the
121st Regt. Penna. Vols.

Early in the summer of 1862, George E. Ridgway, George W. Brickley, George W. Plumer, Alex. McDowell, Moore Bridges, N. B. Riddle and others, commenced recruiting at Franklin, Venango County, Pa., a company to assist in the war for the preservation of the Union.

Public meetings were held at various places in the county, and enlistments were made with the understanding that the company would be organized with George E. Ridgway as Captain, G. W. Brickley as First Lieutenant and G. W. Plumer as Second Lieutenant. About this time Elisha W. Davis received authority from the War Department to enlist a regiment, to be designated as the 145th Penna. Vols., and it was arranged that this company should go to Philadelphia and become a part of said regiment. After the news came of disasters to the Union army before Richmond, and of the great and immediate need of the Government for more men, patriotism was aroused and enlistments were easily and rapidly made.

Soon after the middle of August the company was "more than full," and with high hopes of usefulness, and amid the plaudits of friends at home the company started for "the front." They left Franklin on a large flat-boat on the Allegheny River, and as the water was low they frequently had to get into the river and pull the boat over shallow places. This made their progress rather slow. At Emlenton a number of the company joined them, making in all over a hundred men. At Kittanning they left the boat and went by railroad to Pittsburgh, and from there to Philadelphia, where they were mustered into service August 23d, and went into camp "John C. Knox," near Manayunk. As there were more men than could under the regulations be accepted as one company, ninety-five remained as Company "A," and the rest went into another company.

An election was then held, and the original understanding carried out, except that James S. Warner was elected Second Lieutenant in place of Mr. Plumer, who had gone with the extra men into another company. When this other company was fully organized it became Company "E" of the same regiment, with George W. Plumer as Second Lieutenant, the Venango County men being in number about one-fifth of the company.

About the same time that these enlistments were started at Franklin, John M. Clapp, who then resided about twenty miles up the Allegheny River from Franklin, at a little village called President, commenced recruiting a company for the service.

At first no public meetings were held, and enlistments were slow, but when the news came of the defeat and retreat of the Army of the Potomac, and public apathy changed to enthusiasm, with a firm resolve of the people that the "Union must and shall be preserved," the manner of enlistment was changed—public meetings were held at various places, and the company filled up rapidly. The enlistments were made with the understanding that J. M. Clapp should be Captain, and that the Lieutenants and Orderly Sergeant were to be elected by the company after its departure from Venango County. It was also arranged that this company should join Captain Ridgway's company at Philadelphia, and go with it into the regiment to be commanded by Colonel E. W. Davis.

Charles H. Raymond, then of Utica, Venango County, had commenced a little later to raise a company for the service, but found the county had already been pretty thoroughly canvassed for recruits, and that it would be very difficult to then fill up another company; and when the urgent call came for "more troops immediately," he concluded to take his seventeen men and join Captain Clapp's company.

This filled the company to over the required number, and on the 26th of August Clapp's men started in wagons from President across the country for Kittanning, taking dinner at the "Stone House" on the Franklin and Clarion Turnpike, where they were joined by the men from the lower part of the county. They reached Callensburg the first evening. That night they were joined by Raymond and his men from Utica, and at 2 P. M., the next day, they reached Kittanning, where they took the cars and arrived at Pittsburgh the same evening. Here they were received and entertained by the Citizen's Committee at Wilkins' Hall, where they held an election for officers. John M. Clapp was unanimously awarded the captaincy, Joseph K. Byers was elected First Lieutenant, Charles H. Raymond, Second Lieutenant, and Nathaniel Lang, Orderly Sergeant.

Leaving Pittsburgh at 3 A. M. the next morning, they arrived in Philadelphia the next evening, and were entertained at the Cooper Shop Refreshment Saloon.

The men were mustered into the service August 29th and 30th, and went into Camp "John C. Knox," where Company "A" was already stationed. A day or two later the regiment was consolidated with that of Colonel Chapman Biddle, and went into active service as the 121st Regt. Penna. Vols.

HISTORY.

The 121st Regt. Penna. Vols., organized in August, 1862, and consisting of 730 officers and enlisted men, was completed by the consolidation of portions of two regiments, then in process of formation, one of which was the 121st, recruited in Philadelphia by Colonel Chapman Biddle, and the other the 145th, recruited in Venango County, by Colonel Elisha W. Davis. Under this consolidation, some of the original officers were thrown out, but Chapman Biddle was retained as Colonel, and Elisha W. Davis as Lieutenant-Colonel, while Alexander Biddle was made Major of the regiment, known thereafter as the 121st Regt. Penna. Vols. Adjutant Thomas M. Hall, Quartermaster Wm. C. Atwood, Sergeant-Major West Funk, Surgeon H. P. Hottenstein and Assistant Surgeon John J. Comfort, with Chaplain Wm. C. Ferriday, completed the staff. The line officers were as follows:—

Company "A," Captain George E. Ridgway; First-Lieutenant, George W. Brickley; Second-Lieutenant, James S. Warner.

Company "B," Captain, Alexander Laurie; First Lieutenant, Charles F. Hulse; Second Lieutenant, John Iungerich.

Company "C," Captain, J. Frank Sterling; First Lieutenant, Benjamin H. Pippet; Second Lieutenant, George W. Powell.

Company "D," Captain, T. Elwood Zell; First Lieutenant, Joseph G. Rosengarten; Second Lieutenant, Charles E. Etting.

Company "E," Captain, Samuel T. Lloyd; First Lieutenant, Charles F. Robertson; Second Lieutenant, George W. Plumer.

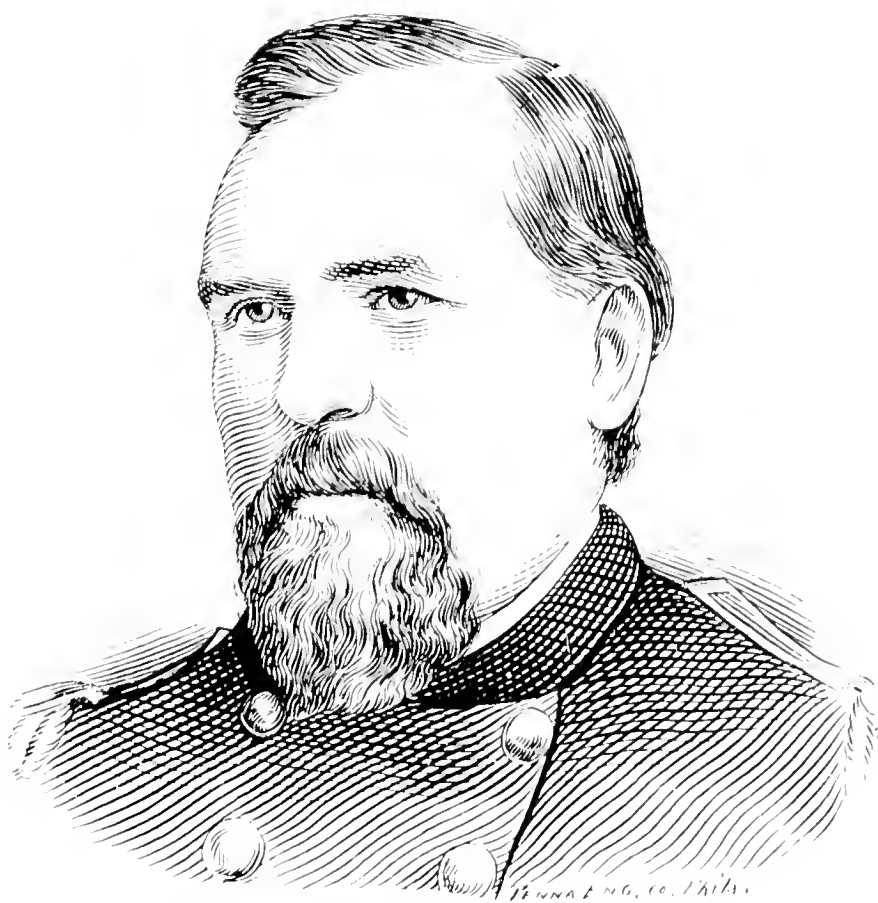
Company "F," Captain, John M. Clapp; First Lieutenant, Joseph K. Byers; Second Lieutenant, Charles H. Raymond.

Company "G," Captain, William M. Wooldridge; First Lieutenant, James A. Kay; Second Lieutenant, M. W. C. Barclay.

Company "H," Captain, Samuel Wrigley; First Lieutenant, Edward Gratz, Jr.; Second Lieutenant, Harrison Lambdin.

Company "I," Captain, James Ashworth; First Lieutenant, James Ruth; Second Lieutenant, John Durborrow.

Company "K," Captain, Samuel Arrison; First Lieutenant, William W. Dorr; Second Lieutenant, Joshua Garsed.



LIEUTENANT COLONEL ELISHA W. DAVIS.

Out of the Venango County contingent, were formed Companies "A" and "F" and a part of Company "E." The letters by which companies were designated, did not indicate the positions they held in line, as is usually the case. Company "I" was first company, and occupied the right of the regiment; "A" was second, and held the left, while "D," the color company, was third. Running from the right of the line to the left, the order of companies was as follows:—

"I," First Company; "C," Sixth Company; "E," Fourth Company; "G," Ninth Company; "D," Third Company; "B," Eighth Company; "F," Fifth Company; "H," Tenth Company; "K," Seventh Company; "A," Second Company.

During the few days allowed to recruit the ranks, the regiment encamped near Chestnut Hill, in the northern outskirts of Philadelphia, and the time was spent in educating the men in the various duties of camp life, the major who was in command there, appearing to be particularly proficient in such matters, and taking an active part in bringing his men up to a high standard of discipline.

Not a trade nor profession was without its representative in the camp, but in making up the contingent, there had been gathered together, indiscriminately, lawyers, doctors, artisans, mechanics, clerks and farmers. The agricultural districts were largely represented. The ages of the men varied from about eighteen to forty-five years.

As to nationalities, while the native-born greatly predominated, there was a fair sprinkling of the hardy sons of Erin, and Company "B" was composed almost entirely of Germans, many of whom had been trained soldiers prior to enlisting in defense of the Union, whose soldierly bearing and strict observance of discipline, had an excellent effect on the entire regiment.

As one immense family assembled for a common purpose, all seemed disposed to regulate their natural differences so as to reach a level from which they could work together in order to accomplish the greatest good. The city-bred soldier vied with their comrades from the interior in all the duties pertaining to camp and field, but it was soon apparent that the farmers possessed many advantages over their city brothers which told in their favor. The men from Venango and adjacent counties were the *beaux-ideal* of soldiers, not, perhaps, of the French chivalry pattern, but of the model that fought at Bunker Hill and at New Orleans, for they could shoot. They were born with rifles in their hands and shot squirrels from their cradles. One of these, telling no soldier's yarn (he was complimented in general orders for his conduct in battle), claims he hit an enemy every time he pulled the trigger. Then, too, the axe came to the hands of these woodsmen

naturally, and before it the tall pine bit the dust, brought down by no uncertain stroke. The city-bred soldier looked on with amazement, and could not understand why his axe made a fresh start with every cut. And their fires! Two bits of green wood under their care would lie side by side and burn away most satisfactorily. A touch from an inexperienced hand would result in cold and gloom. Their winter quarters were the result of experience; their log huts, although of unique and various designs, were warm and comfortable.

The sea, too, gave up its veterans. "Big Jim" was our one old sailor. If he sailed as well as he marched, his ship must have made good time. He was a tall Englishman, and a jolly one at that. During his first year's cruise, he put a studding-sail on to the end of his tent to protect his feet in cold weather, but, finding his improvement took up too much room in his knapsack, he soon dispensed with it and came down to regulation length.

Mr. Geo. M. McMahon, a relative of Lieutenant Chas. F. Robertson, of Company "E," presented each member of that company with an elegant gum blanket. This was an almost indispensable article, not to be had at that time from the quartermaster, and one of the numerous appliances and supposed conveniences with which loving friends supplemented the government foresight in supplying its soldiers, which were not almost or entirely useless.

The regiment left Philadelphia on the 5th of September, 1862, marching from camp to the depot of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad, at Broad and Prime streets, where it boarded a train of freight cars for Washington. Here the men had their first disappointment, for they fully expected the privilege of taking a lunch at the Cooper Shop Refreshment Saloon. All troops leaving or passing through Philadelphia, as a rule, were magnanimously provided for at the refreshment saloon, and it was a matter of pride that Philadelphia had furnished this unmistakable evidence of the patriotism of her citizens in sending our soldiers on their way with light hearts and full stomachs. This kindness on the part of Philadelphia was never forgotten, and her Cooper Shop and Volunteer Refreshment Saloons were ever after subjects of grateful remembrance among the soldiers throughout the Union army; and even to this day, old veterans are frequently heard lauding Philadelphia for her magnificent treatment of our soldiers.

After many annoying delays, the regiment arrived in Washington at daylight, September 6th, and, after partaking of refreshments, started on its march for Camp Chase, on Arlington Heights, opposite Washington. About half-way across Long Bridge it met the advance

of a portion of the Army of the Potomac on its way to confront General Lee in Maryland, and rested on the bridge from 8 o'clock in the evening of the 6th until 1 o'clock on the morning of the 7th to allow the veterans to pass. Many of the old soldiers wanted to know "what brigade" that was, and well they might mistake the regiment for a brigade. Their regiments seemed more like companies; their regimental colors, torn, faded and bullet-ridden, passed with what seemed every two or three companies and gave the new troops some insight into the meaning and effect of a year's active service.

Arriving at Camp "Chase," near Fort Albany, early on the morning of September 7th, the regiment remained there until the 29th, doing all kinds of camp duties, and without guns, standing guard with clubs, which were replaced on the 11th of the month by shining new Springfield rifles, destined soon to lose their freshness. It was assigned to Brigadier-General Pratt's brigade, September 17th. The few weeks' grace allowed here was, in every way imaginable, utilized to bring the men to understand, thoroughly, the various duties of the soldier. Drills and reviews, practice in marching, picket and guard duty, inspections, etc., were all made familiar, notwithstanding the fact that during this month the heat of the sun was at times, almost unbearable. Camp cooking and camp housekeeping took up much of the time, and all the new-fangled utensils introduced for the accommodation of new recruits, such as patent combination knives, forks and spoons, etc., were brought into requisition. Armor was having a little run. One of the sergeants had breastplates in a vest: they proved useful for a little while as frying-pans. He also had a revolver, and some fellows had bowie knives, but before long they found they could do with a musket alone all the fighting they had time to do. Camp "Chase" was from one and a half to two miles from the Long Bridge, on elevated ground, contiguous to the Arlington estate, owned by General Robt. E. Lee, of the Confederate army, and was on the northerly side of the Columbia Turnpike leading to Bailey's Cross-roads, some two or three miles beyond.

The following were the first marching orders received by the regiment:—

HEADQUARTERS THIRD BRIGADE,
CASEY'S DIVISION.

CAMP CHASE, VA., September 29, 1862.

General Orders No. 14.

1. The regiments of this brigade will form in line in front of their respective camps, canteens filled, the rations ordered cooked, not less than two days' rations in their haversacks. Call company rolls, stack

arms, rest behind stacks, and await further orders from the Brigadier-General.

2. The order of march for the day will be that in which the regiments of the brigade have been assigned to General Kane's command, viz.: 1. 121st Penna. Vols.; 2. 140th New York Vols.; 3. 10th New Hampshire Vols.; 4. Battery "C," 1st Penna. Artillery.

3. Captain Ridgway, Company "A," 121st Penna. Vols., is appointed to command the rear guard. He will report at headquarters immediately for particular instructions.

4. By General Order No. 11, Division Headquarters, knapsacks will be left for storage by the Quartermaster's Department. Regimental Quartermasters will be instructed on this head by their commanders.

By order of Brigadier-General Thos. L. Kane.

(Signed) JOHN P. GREEN,
Capt. and A. A. G.

Official: THOS. M. HALL, *First Lieut. and Adj. 121st P. V.*

Leaving Camp "Chase," September 29th, the regiment presented a magnificent appearance—the finest ever shown by it before or after. The few weeks of camp life had given the men somewhat the appearance of veterans; their faces were bronzed; life in the open air had had its invigorating effect. In complete marching order, drawn up in line, fully equipped, they were truly ideal soldiers. But, alas! how soon was all this to be changed, both as to appearance and as to numbers. Marching to Washington the men lay in the streets until the morning of the 30th, when they started for Frederick, Md., to join McClellan, taking the cars at Washington and arriving at Frederick at 12.30 Wednesday morning, October 1st, when they were assigned to the First Brigade of the Third Division of the First Army Corps. This division was composed of the famous Pennsylvania Reserves, under Major-General George G. Meade, Brigadier-General T. Seymour commanding the First Brigade. Had it been the determination of those having charge of the fate of the regiment that it should receive in the shortest space of time all the qualifications for which experience was necessary, the object could not have been more effectually accomplished than by placing it with the Reserves, for here was a school unsurpassed in excellence. No better, no braver troops, no hardier, no more determined or more reliable set of men could be found in the army. The Reserves had already made for themselves a most enviable reputation. This division was at the time by long odds the finest in the army—the admiration of friends, the terror of the enemy, and the

pride of our State; and the men of the 121st were highly elated upon being placed with such a body of troops to complete their military training. But one other new regiment, the 142d Penna. Vols., was added to the Reserves, and the two new regiments shared jointly their hospitality (?), which was more or less varied, up to the day the army crossed the Rappahannock at Fredericksburg; and although heartily welcomed, were the objects at which the veterans flung their superfluous epithets when venting their anger or enjoying their fun. If the troops were tired and hungry, the new regiments were reviled; if rested and happy, or in idleness, the new regiments were reviled, and so it was during the entire novitiate. Of course, the new regiments, with their other lessons, soon learned how to retaliate, and so many a vacuum was filled and made to afford an amusing, if not edifying, entertainment.

It required some months to teach the Reserves, that the 121st Regiment was worthy of their companionship. Very naturally they looked upon the new-comers—as old soldiers invariably did upon recruits—with envy, if not distrust. They had fought many battles, had served through a number of campaigns, had been a year in the service, and had earned their well-deserved reputation through the hardest service, under many disadvantages. They were now suffering for want of clothing, many being shoeless, presenting a marked contrast to the condition of their new friends; and they felt that the men who had already served such a severe apprenticeship should be the first to have their wants supplied.

The first death in the regiment, that of private Edward Farley, of Company "G," occurred October 1st.

At 9.30 P. M. on the 8th of October, the men fell in, and commenced their march from Frederick to Sharpsburg, passing through Jefferson and Birkettsville, crossing the Catoctin Creek and Mountain, and the South Mountain, bivouacking the first night at Jefferson, the men suffering from overloaded knapsacks and sore feet. As the regiment left Frederick the moon was shining brightly, and as it passed through the town it was met with a greeting which was a little surprising as well as greatly gratifying. Frederick was a strong Union town, and took pains on all particular occasions to display in a decided manner its loyal sentiments, and of course, the 121st came in for a share of the manifestations on its departure. After the twenty minutes or half hour consumed in passing through the town, the business of the night commenced, and the men found their first experience in marching a severe one. The bright moonlight enabled them to make their way along the dusty roads, and the march was kept up through

a beautiful country until 2 o'clock in the morning, when a halt was called, and they bivouacked in a large field near Jefferson. At 9 A. M. on the 9th, they started for Catoctin Creek, about one and one-half miles, to rest for the day. This first march made a lasting impression on the men, and, although severe, was an excellent lesson well remembered. The temperature was roasting hot, the roads dusty—and such dust! Great clouds at every step rose over and around the men, blinding and choking them as they proceeded, penetrating their shoes and clothing and chafing them terribly; and before they were far on the road they began to unload their knapsacks, and all suddenly discovered that many of the articles they had been lugging along were superfluous. Overcoats, dress-coats, extra underclothing, and even blankets, were thrown away, and everything that could possibly be spared was dispensed with. What a wonderful change in the appearance of the regiment when the end of that first march was reached! Scarcely a man retained any luggage more than his blanket, in addition to arms and accoutrements; and, in fact, afterward seldom found use for anything more than these on an active campaign, as it was an easy matter to call on the quartermaster for new supplies, when camp was reached. On reaching Catoctin Creek, where they remained most of the day, the men indulged in bathing, thus getting rid of the dust gathered on the march, and refreshing themselves for another tramp.

At 5.30 P. M., of the 9th, the regiment resumed its march for Sharpsburg, and, after crossing the creek, commenced the ascent of the Catoctin Mountains, which it completed just as the sun went down. The view presented from the summit was glorious. The roads were excessively dusty, as on the previous march, and, being very hilly, sorely tried the new soldiers. Many fell behind, overcome with fatigue and with blistered feet, but still all tried to do their best and not to be in the rear of their comrades. Birkettsville was reached in time for a late supper, after which the regiment resumed its journey, and halted a little after midnight, and again bivouacked. On the morning of the next day, about 10 o'clock, it took up its line of march and pushed on, with the customary halts, until it finally arrived at Sharpsburg, there joining the brigade. Just before entering the town, the regiment crossed the Antietam Creek over the celebrated stone bridge known as Burnside's Bridge, so well carried and defended by Burnside in the recent battle of Antietam. While here, on the 16th of October, a set of colors was received from the Governor of Pennsylvania, and here the men had their first experience in genuine picket duty, being posted along the Potomac River on the 23d of October, with the rebel pickets strung along the opposite bank.



COLOR-SERGEANT ERSKINE HAZARD, JR.—From a sketch drawn by Harrison Lambdin.

Leaving Sharpsburg, October 26th, the march down through Virginia was commenced, the 1st Brigade being composed of the 1st, 2d, 5th and 6th Penna. Reserves, and the 121st Penna. Vols. The rain poured in torrents during the entire day and following night. On the 27th, with mud ankle-deep, the brigade reached Berlin, near the ruins of a fine bridge, destroyed by the rebels, and crossed the Potomac on pontoon bridges on the 30th, encamping near Lovettsville in the afternoon of same day, in a most lovely region of country. "The hills which surrounded and almost enclosed the camp, at sunset, presented as fine a picture as one could wish to look upon. In front, towards the west, was a small valley through which the road over the Catocin Mountains passed, and further on towards the setting sun were undulations on which the trees in their autumnal foliage stood out in bold relief, warm and light with the lingering rays of the departing luminary."

Resuming the march, November 1st and continuing until the 7th, brought up the line at Warrenton. The way was through Loudon and Fauquier counties, through Hamilton to Philomont, then bearing to the east and south, avoiding Ashby's Gap, through Middleburg to White Plains. The brigade was ordered to pass through Middleburg with drums beating and colors flying. Here, as in every other village and small town through which the regiment had passed since crossing the Potomac, everything appeared deserted, most of the people disappearing on the approach of the Union troops, yet scarcely a thing was molested by the soldiers. A small force of Confederate cavalry had been driven out of this town by General Reynold's troops, November 6th, an hour or so before the brigade reached it, and here an attack from the enemy had been anticipated and preparations made to meet it. This anticipation had a wonderful effect on the men, many of whom were suffering a good deal from the constant marching, but every one immediately straightened himself up for the work that was believed to be on hand.

An incident occurred on this march that was both strange and amusing. A night march through the woods towards a point known as White Plains was very tedious, the night being dark and the men, who had been marching all day, were fagged out; but as the night went on, instead of being in camp resting their weary limbs, they were still hunting their destination, changing the course several times, which gave them the impression that they were lost, and finally halting about midnight. After their year of joint service, no doubt General Meade and his Pennsylvania Reserves understood each other pretty thoroughly, but to the men of the 121st who had not been used to

such things, it appeared that the opinions expressed by the Reserves of their general—not in whispers, but in stentorian tones, easily heard by the general and those considerably farther away—were anything but polite, not to say in violation of military discipline and etiquette. On all sides they swore at and censured him for getting lost and going the wrong road, using such adjectives in the expression of their indignation as would scarcely bear repetition. It was asserted by some one that the general promised to get square with his men the first battle that took place; but that was nothing to men who would at any time rather fight than march.

November 10th, while in the vicinity of Warrenton, “we witnessed, upon General Burnside taking the command, the farewell of General McClellan to his army. He was, to the exclusion of every one else, the idol of the army. He it was who shared their privations, who had been with his soldiers in victory and defeat. He it was who had been unremittingly solicitous for their comfort and welfare, and between him and them had consequently been created and cemented a bond of friendship not to be easily destroyed. Long before he made his appearance, regiment after regiment marched to the field where the corps of Reynolds was assembled for the purpose of the leave-taking—artillery, cavalry, infantry. Towards 4 o'clock in the afternoon, after having bade good-bye to Franklin's and Sumner's corps, McClellan with his staff was announced by the customary salute from the artillery, and as he reached the right of the line, cheer after cheer broke forth from the men, and this was continued along the entire front, varied only by excited huzzas and tossing of caps in the air and other wild demonstrations of respect, mingled with the sincerest grief. As he rode by, it was evident that he was deeply overcome by these demonstrations. The tone of his farewell was indicative of the depth of his feeling.”¹

For the time, the general seemed to have complete possession of the thousands of hearts before him, and the sight was certainly one that can never be forgotten by those who witnessed it.

It is stated that on the 9th of November the strength of the Union army, at and about Warrenton, was 125,000; while that of the Confederates was 75,000, of whom the First Corps, under Longstreet was at or near Culpeper, and the Second, under Stonewall Jackson, was at Milford, twenty-five miles west of Warrenton, and on the far side of the Blue Ridge.

¹Letter Chapman Biddle.

Fredericksburg.

November 11th the march was resumed, Colonel William Sinclair taking command of the brigade November 14th, halting near Fayetteville until the 16th, when the regiment again moved on through Bealeton and Morrisville, Fauquier County, to Stafford Court-house, Stafford County, which place was reached on the evening of the 18th. The greater part of the way was through fields and woods, in a direction parallel to the highway, the artillery and supply trains using the road in order to be abreast and under the protection of the infantry. The brigade encamped at the edge of a little stream called Accaceek Creek, near Acquia Creek. November 22d, the camp was shifted to the vicinity of Brooks' Station. On this march the line passed through Stafford Court House, the court-house and offices of record, etc., being occupied by the cavalry, and the records themselves scattered to the four winds of heaven, or lying loose for the hands of the first person who might care to possess them. At the end of the march, the regiment went on picket, the line extending from the camp to the river, about one and a half miles.

By a recent order the Army of the Potomac had been reorganized into three grand divisions: the Second and Ninth Corps forming the Right Grand Division under General Sumner; the First and Sixth Corps the Left Grand Division under General Franklin; and the Third and Fifth Corps the Centre Grand Division under General Hooker; the Eleventh Corps under General Sigel constituting a reserve. The First Corps continued under the command of General Reynolds, General Meade commanding the Third Division, made up of the various regiments of Pennsylvania Reserves.

The entire First Brigade remained near Brooks' Station until December 8th, spending the time in building bridges, repairing roads, and doing picket duty on alternate days. The camp was in a pine thicket. Snow and rain fell constantly, making it almost impossible to build fires; and then, when the men succeeded in getting their fires going, the smoke hung over and around the camp until all were nearly blinded.

The second death in the regiment, that of John W. Lees, nineteen years of age, occurred here, December 6th.

December 8th was a clear and cold day, one of the coldest experienced in the army up to this time, the sun shining brightly, and the roads being frozen hard. The brigade again pulled up stakes at 8 A. M., and marched to White Oak Church, which was reached about 1 o'clock the same afternoon, the new camp being in a small pine wood about four miles below Fredericksburg, and three miles from the Rappahannock River.

By the 10th of December matters began to assume a serious aspect. On this day the pontoons were going forward in the direction of Fredericksburg. On this day, also, every man was furnished with sixty rounds of ammunition, and orders concerning the coming battle were read to the regiment on parade. These orders were full and precise; every man capable of carrying a musket was ordered to be present in the ranks, even the musicians; it was also ordered that no assistance should be given the wounded during the engagement, a precaution to prevent the men from leaving the ranks until the fight was over. On the 11th the men were aroused at 3 o'clock in the morning, cooked their coffee, hard-tack and pork, and between 5 and 6 o'clock, after receiving twenty additional rounds of cartridges and three days' rations, started off on a "double-quick" towards the Rappahannock, in which direction heavy firing was heard, and halted in a wood a short distance from the river.

Here everything looked like business. The manœuvring of immense bodies of troops in the immediate vicinity, the shifting of numerous batteries of artillery and the great roar of the heavy guns used during the day in the bombardment of Fredericksburg, were certainly very assuring to men who had never before beheld the handling of troops on the eve of a great battle, and, naturally, their belief in the impossibility of a successful opposition to such an army was considerably strengthened. It is stated that 143 guns posted along Stafford Heights were engaged in shelling the town and heights beyond. The reality of what was to take place, however, could not be conceived, although the appearance of long trains of ambulances and stretcher-bearers bringing up the rear of the troops and passing along to convenient locations for ready service was sufficiently convincing that a fearful slaughter was being provided for. Early on the morning of the 12th the regiment moved closer to the river and witnessed the preparations for crossing. From its elevated position, the long, wide flats along the river-bank below were visible in both directions, and presented a magnificent sight, being filled with troops moving some in

one direction, some in another, many resting with their arms stacked awaiting their turns to fall in, officers hurrying to and fro, batteries of artillery and regiments of cavalry mingling with the infantry, all making up an immense mass of humanity that it would seem impossible to prevent being hopelessly mixed and blended together. Finally, the various lines began to take shape, leading off in the direction of the different crossings, no confusion whatever being apparent.

At the town of Fredericksburg the river is about 200 yards wide. The left bank is skirted for a long distance by a broad strip of flats, beyond which rises a line of bluffs some 150 feet above the stream. The town, itself, is located on the southwest bank, on the edge of a plain which extends some three miles along the river, and which, in its widest part below the town, is about a mile and a quarter wide. The hills rising beyond this plain are covered with timber. The railroad, running nearly south from the town, through the plain, with an embankment four or five feet high, afforded quite a stronghold for the rebel skirmishers, while the main line of the enemy was posted on the heights, within the edge of the woods. The old stage-road to Richmond, sometimes called the Bowling Green Road, ran parallel with the river, between it and the railroad, and was lined with high hedge fences, which partially shielded from view the movements of the Union troops.

The following extract, commenting on the situation as found by the commander of the Union army, is taken from "Fredericksburg Campaign, by a Line Officer:"—

"Before him lay an open plain, narrow to the north, expanding to a greater breadth to the south, and dominated by a double tier of hills. Along the bare surface of the lower ridge, between Hazel Run and the river, earthworks were plainly visible, and below to the left the highlands were covered with dense woods which his observation could not penetrate. Upon the grassy uplands beyond Fredericksburg, working parties were busily turning up the yellow clay; sentries and pickets watched the river bank, and across the plain gray-coated vedettes passed to and fro: no large body of men nor encampment was visible, yet who could say how large a force might not be screened by that dark line of forest, or concealed in the deep depressions of the hills? He had little information as to the number or disposition of the enemy, and it must have been obvious that before he could advance against the heights confronting him, it would be necessary to pass over the river every available man. The Federal sentries upon the edge of the Stafford plateau looked down into the streets of the little town; and there, if heavy batteries were brought forward to cover the operation,

it would be no hazardous or prolonged task to bridge the stream. But so contracted is the space between the river and the ridge, and so exposed was it in every quarter to the fire of the Confederate guns, that the deployment of the attacking force would be difficult and costly, and unless those guns were disabled or driven from the hills, the town itself would prove a mere 'shell-trap' to the troops in possession. Away to the left, however, where the highlands stand back at a distance of 4,500 yards from the river-bank, and the wider straud below the cliffs form a spacious landing-place, there was room to bridge and to manœuvre unmolested; then, too, the old stage-road, with its double embankment presented a strong *place d'arms* and base of attack."

The 121st Regiment crossed the river at 10 A. M. on one of the lower pontoons, and after crossing, proceeded up a hill by the house of a Mr. Burnet, a member of the Confederate Congress, and formed line of battle on a beautiful level tract of land, resting for further orders. The Bucktails were sent out on picket, and the men, after capturing and butchering an old cow, built fires and cooked their rations. While thus engaged, General Burnside and aids came riding along the line, and were enthusiastically received with hearty cheers. During the night the men rested on their arms. The morning of Saturday, the 13th, opened very foggy, it being impossible for several hours to see more than a few yards distant. A rabbit was sufficiently indiscreet to make its appearance, and the consequent scrambling and tumbling and hooting among the soldiers in their efforts to capture the spry little fellow were enough to drive away all serious thoughts of the coming conflict. Finally the line moved further down along the bank of the river, and then turned inland, and formed in line of battle opposite the tall, thick hedge lining the Bowling Green Road, beyond which nothing could be seen, and which, of course, shielded the line from the view of the enemy.

The regiment was now about to receive its baptism of fire; was about to enter its maiden engagement, and its grit was to be tested for the first time on the battle-field, in the presence of veterans, than whom no better soldiers ever existed, and in the face of an enemy on whom victory had repeatedly smiled on hotly-contested fields.

The order was given to unsling knapsacks and tear away the hedge in front. This being accomplished, the line was advanced some two or three hundred yards, leaving the old stage-road in the rear, and halted in an open field, where Ransom's battery ("B," First United States Artillery) also took position and at once opened fire. The men were here ordered to lie down abreast of and supporting the battery,

in full view of the enemy, whose guns fired shot and shell from every direction, one battery in particular causing much annoyance, firing from a point to the left and somewhat to the rear. One of its shots struck down seven men, and another killed a horse just in front of the colors. This battery (Pelham's) had range, and its round shot bounded along the regiment from the left to the right flank until our artillery opened on it, when its fire passed farther and farther to the rear, and its shot could be seen breaking through the trees a quarter of a mile away. Other batteries in front, and still more to the right, kept up a continual cross-fire from all directions on the infantrymen lying on their faces, and the artillerymen who were faithfully serving their guns at so great a disadvantage, for it must be understood that while the enemy were mostly concealed within the woods on the heights beyond. Meade's division occupied the plain in full view, with no shelter, no works of any kind whatever. While in this position the regiment suffered severely. The first man killed in the regiment was John B. Manson, private of Company "A." He was cut in two by a cannon ball. The shot and shell were continually for two long hours flying over and around the men, making deep furrows in the ground and bounding like rubber balls. The annoying and appalling noise of the flying shells was altogether new and unexpected, differing according to the kind or size, and the elevation from and at which they came. One gun sent shells whose noise resembled the sudden flight of a great flock of pigeons. A solid shot would land with a heavy thud and rebound to the rear, or come right at the line with the sound of a huge circular saw ripping a log, or pass shrieking through the air in quest of a victim. There is certainly something very terrifying in such accompaniments that has not a great tendency to strengthen the nerves; nevertheless, many of the men slept soundly during this fearful cannonading. Nature demanded her measure of rest even under such novel circumstances.

The troops directly opposed to Meade's division were those of A. P. Hill's division, Stonewall Jackson's corps. Covered by a heavy line of skirmishers along the railroad, the first line within the edge of the woods was held by the brigades of Archer on the right, then Lane, and then Pender. Gregg's brigade, some four or five hundred yards in rear of Archer and Lane, and Thomas' brigade, about the same distance in rear of Lane and Pender, made up the second line; the combined strength of the five brigades making up this division being about 11,000.

Fourteen guns posted on the right of Archer and thirty guns on the left of Pender had complete range of the intervening space across

which the advance had to be made. It is also stated that at the time of the attack, Early's division of three brigades and Taliaferro's division of four brigades, as well as D. H. Hill's division and a number of batteries of artillery were within supporting distance of A. P. Hill's division. The full strength of Meade's division was 4,600 men.

Finally, about 1 P. M., a shell was landed in a rebel caisson, almost directly in front of the regiment, causing a great explosion, and creating, evidently, much confusion in the enemy's lines, and a corresponding amount of elation among the men of Meade's division, who gave free vent to their joy in one of those rousing Yankee cheers that never failed to inspire courage or dismay wherever heard. No doubt General Meade concluded that this was the opportune moment, for within a few minutes thereafter came the order to charge with fixed bayonets. As if suddenly let loose from a tiresome confinement in which they were compelled to submit to the galling and destructive fire of their enemy and from a position where retaliation was impossible, the division sprang forward almost on a run, checking its speed only so much as was necessary to preserve its alignment.

With one grand rush across the plain towards the works in front, without returning a shot, while the musketry of the enemy was rapidly cutting down our men as they advanced, the division soon covered the intervening space, crossing fences, ditches and a railroad in doing so, and driving the enemy from their position. A fence crossing the line of the regiment diagonally as it advanced, proved for a few moments quite a serious impediment. As the men reached the fence, instead of immediately crossing, they allowed themselves to be crowded toward the left, the fence acting as a wedge to force the men in that direction, presenting an excellent opportunity to the enemy to punish them effectually. This lasted but a few moments, however, and the men after mounting the fence regained their alignment and proceeded on toward the wood. After entering the woods progress was impeded by the tangled undergrowth of bushes; nevertheless the enemy was kept on the run, our men following up their advantage closely, having everything their own way and punishing their adversaries severely. Meade's Division was at this time not only far in advance of any other portion of the Union line, but had penetrated through and far beyond the Confederate line of works on either side, and, for the want of support, was completely isolated. The dreadful slaughter in front of Marye's Hill at no time approached success, but, however brave, the efforts of the troops at that point were from the first utterly hopeless. Meade's were the only troops that broke through the enemy's lines, and saw victory, for a short time, perched upon their banners. That it



LIEUTENANT M. W. C. BARCLAY

was not taken advantage of was no fault of theirs; and, without seeking to locate the blame, they want it put on record that they are proud of that day's work, believing, as do all their critics, that they did their whole duty.

Halting for a short time, as if to take breath, the regiments on the left soon raised the cry "they're gaining the rear." Up to this stage of the engagement everything had gone on as well as could be wished, although the loss had been considerable; but the operation of falling back in the face of the enemy, always a disastrous experiment, was particularly so in this instance. Before the line got back to the edge of the wood, two separate lines (one following the other) of the enemy appeared in its tracks, taking advantage of the situation (no supports coming to Meade's relief), and followed closely with volleys of musketry, capturing many of the men and killing and wounding many more. Colonel Biddle, in his letters writes, "a support which had been ordered for us failed to come. Had it come the result probably, would have been different."

Colonel Sinclair having been wounded in the charge, the command of the First Brigade devolved on Colonel Wm. McCandless. On

From "The Antietam and Fredericksburg," by F. W. Palfrey, Brevet Brigadier-General, U. S. V., New York, Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1882:—

"At last the Confederate guns were silenced, or silent, and Meade advanced. The First Brigade succeeded in penetrating the woods, driving the enemy from the railroad beyond, and finally crossed the crest of the hill beyond, and reached the open ground on the other side. With great gallantry and ardor they pressed back the troops in front of them, and made or found an interval between the brigades of Archer and Lane, of A. P. Hill's division, and forced two regiments of the former and the whole of the latter to give way. The Second Brigade divided as it followed the First up the hill, to meet a sharp fire which assailed it on both flanks, but only a small portion of it reached the same point as the First Brigade. One of its regiments took prisoners and a color. The Third Brigade was checked by a destructive fire from a battery on the left, its commander was killed, and it accomplished little. Meade's division fared as Pickett's division fared at Gettysburg. Having made a most brilliant advance, and penetrated the hostile line more deeply than Pickett's did, it was enveloped by fire closing in upon it from every direction, and compelled to withdraw. But it seems to have been better commanded and better supported, than Pickett's division was, and instead of losing seventy-five per cent., as Pickett's division did, it lost only forty per cent. and it captured several standards and over 300 prisoners. A brigade from Birney's division on the left, and one from Gibbon's division on the right, aided materially in the withdrawal of Meade's line."

resuming its original position, General Meade, who seemed considerably vexed at not having been properly supported, found occasion to compliment the regiment for its part of the work by exclaiming in the presence of the division "Well done, 121st; good enough for one day."

Out of 576 officers and men who went into this action, the regiment lost 24 killed, 115 wounded and 10 missing. Of the wounded, 19 were mortally wounded, making the loss in killed and mortally wounded 43.

In many cases the wounded fell into the hands of the enemy and became prisoners, but are accounted for above among the wounded. There were 29 cases of this kind, bringing the number of prisoners up to 35.

The following description of Meade's charge is given by "A Line Officer" in "Fredericksburg Campaign"—an authority which cannot be suspected of partiality towards the Union troops—but whose sympathy is evidently with the Confederates:—

"1 P. M. Preceded by clouds of skirmishers and covered by a tremendous artillery fire, Meade and Gibbons advanced from the Old Stage Road in the usual formation, column of brigade at 300 paces distance, the whole covering a front of 1,000 yards, whilst Birney replaced Meade along the road.

"When the Federals reached the scene of their former repulse, Jackson's guns again opened, but without the same effect, for they were now exposed to the fire of the enemy's more powerful artillery. Even Pelham could do but little, and the batteries which had been advanced beyond the railroad on Hill's left front were quickly driven in; Meade's rearmost brigade was now brought up, and deployed to the left of the first, thus further extending the front. The leading brigade made straight for that tongue of woodland which, projecting beyond the railroad, interposed between Lane and Archer. As they approached, the battalions found that, masked by the timber, they were no longer exposed to the fire of the enemy's artillery, and that the wood before them was unoccupied.

[As Meade's division met with no repulse until later in the day when it was finally driven from the works it had taken from the Confederates, the reference to "their former repulse" is an error. This officer calls the first halt under the artillery fire a repulse. Other authorities do so also, but, as Meade's men well know, there had been no going back up to this time and the old stage-road was left in the rear by Meade almost before a shot was fired on that part of the line.]

“Quickly crossing the border, through swamp and undergrowth deemed impenetrable by the Confederates, an ever-increasing stream of men pressed on, and bursting from the covert to the right hand, attempted to roll up the exposed flank of Lane's brigade. The ground between the northern skirt of the wood, however, and Lane's right was an open field, 200 yards in width, and over this space the Federals made no immediate progress. At length, their ammunition giving out, the Southerners retired, but slowly and in good order. Neither Gregg nor Archer were able to lend assistance, for they themselves were fully occupied with Meade's Second Brigade; which, though following close on the heels of the First, and met at the entrance to the coppice by the oblique fire of Lane's regiments, had, instead of conforming to the change of direction, rushed forward through the wood.

“Two hundred paces from the embankment it came in contact with Archer's left, which was resting on the very edge of the coppice. The Confederates were completely taken by surprise; relying on the reported inaccessibility of the thicket beyond their flank, neither scouts nor pickets had been thrown out to watch the approaches, and the men were lying about with arms piled. Two regiments attempting to form up and change front to the left, were assailed in the act, broken by a determined charge, and routed in confusion. The remainder, however, stood firm, without changing front; for the Federals, instead of following up their success in this direction, left Archer to be dealt with by the Third Brigade of the division (which had now reached the railroad and was threatening him in front), and swept on towards the military road, where Gregg's brigade was drawn up in line. So thick was the covert, and so limited the view, that General Gregg, taking the advancing mass for part of Hill's line retiring, restrained the fire of his men. The Federal crush broke upon his right. He himself fell mortally wounded; his flank regiment, a battalion of conscripts, fled, except one company, without firing a shot. The two regiments of the opposite flank, however, were with great readiness turned about, and changing front inwards, effectually obstructed any movement of the enemy along the rear. But the Federals, though now joined by part of the First Brigade, had already reached the limit of their success. The Pennsylvania regiments found themselves in the heart of the enemy's position; but from the very nature of their advance, and the ground over which they had passed, they had become a confused and disorganized mass.

“Let us now look at the progress and position of the different bodies from which the much-needed aid was expected. To the right rear, opposite Pender, Gibbon's division, which had moved to the

attack almost simultaneously with Meade, had been checked by the fire of the thirty odd Confederate guns posted *en masse* 300 yards behind the railroad. Two of his brigades had been driven back; the third had with difficulty gained the shelter of the embankment. To the left rear, Meade's Third Brigade was held in check by Walker's batteries and the staunch infantry of Archer, who, notwithstanding that a strong force had passed beyond his flank, resolutely held his ground, and prevented his immediate opponents from reinforcing the intruding column.

"Not a single field-battery had followed in support of the infantry; between the railway, therefore, and the Old Stage Road, a distance of 950 yards, there was no body of formed troops. Meade, with less than 3,000 men, was alone and unsupported within the hostile lines, swallowed up by the forest and surrounded by an overwhelming throng of foes. At this crisis of the fight, when every available battalion should have been hurried to the front and poured through the still open gap, when a determined rush of the whole fighting line and supports would have probably driven Hill and Early back upon the reserves, Franklin, incapable of a bold offensive, made no effort to assist his lieutenant, and, despite three urgent appeals for succor, left the gallant Pennsylvanians to their fate. Franklin, holding in his hand 40,000 infantry at least, saw those daring troops, who, though numbering scarce 3,000, had so successfully cleared the way, destroyed piecemeal by his own violation of the first principles of war.

"The Confederates, in sharp contrast, and prompted perhaps by the urgency of the case, were not slow to come to the assistance of their comrades. Early, anticipating Jackson's orders, hurled the brigades of Atkinson and Walker against the flank of the hostile column, and dispatched Hoke, with Hays in support, to reinforce Archer. At the same time Thomas, supported by Paxton, charged forward to the relief of Lane; and the combined brigades bore back the Federals, outnumbered but fighting stubbornly, down the slope, and after a brief yet desperate struggle, thrust them from the woods. Though compelled by sheer force of numbers to retreat, Meade's men still showed a bold front, and, on gaining the railway embankment, turned fiercely at bay. But in the thick covert they had been thrust from, all order and cohesion had been lost, and ere they could make good their grip upon that line of vantage the Confederates rushed down upon them with the bayonet, and drove them far across the plain (2.15 P. M.) Walker, Thomas and Archer halted at the embankment, for four regiments, sent too tardily by Birney to Meade's aid, were attempting to enter the projecting coppice; but Atkinson and Hoke, carried away by success,

pursued the fugitives beyond the railroad. In killed, wounded and prisoners Meade lost more than 2,000 officers and men."

Colonel Biddle rendered his official report as follows:—

CAMP NEAR FREDERICKSBURG, VA.

December 18, 1862.

LIEUTENANT:—In obedience to brigade circular of this date, requesting a statement of the operations of the several regiments of the brigade in the engagement of Saturday last, the 13th inst., I have the honor to submit the following respecting the 121st Penna. Volunteers:—

Early on the morning of the 13th, the brigade was moved from its camping-ground near Bernard's house to the left and front to the support of Ransom's battery, where it remained a considerable time in position. The ground occupied by the brigade was a portion of the extensive plain reaching about Fredericksburg, probably three miles in length by one mile or a mile and a quarter in width. From one-third to one-half mile in front of us was the Richmond Railroad, and just behind, the wooded heights which enclose the plain. Between 1 and 2 P. M., Meade's division was ordered to move forward to clear the wood, which was occupied by the enemy in force, the First Brigade leading. The advance was made promptly, and, after crossing three ditches and the railroad, the brigade entered the wood. The 121st, continuing in line, reached the crest of the hill, passing on the way, a number of the enemy's musket stacks. From the time the regiment entered the wood, its advance was kept up steadily, until the greatly superior force of the enemy, who were flanking us on both sides, compelled us to retire.

In withdrawing from the wood, the regiment retired with steadiness, though suffering severely from the enemy's fire. On reaching the plain, and a short distance from the railroad, such of the regiment as came out together were formed in line and then halted for a time. The regiment was then moved a short distance to the rear, where it remained until ordered back to the position it occupied on the night of the 12th.

While in the wood, the 121st advanced to the extreme front, and it is believed that if the brigade had been supported, the object contemplated by the general would have been accomplished.

In closing this sketch, I take great pleasure in referring to the good conduct of the officers and men. I may mention that the order of the regiment was in a great measure due to the coolness and efficiency of Lieutenant-Colonel Davis and Major Biddle. If desired, it

would afford me sincere satisfaction to furnish a list of the officers and men who distinguished themselves in the engagement.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

CHAPMAN BIDDLE,
*Colonel One Hundred and Twenty-first
Pennsylvania Volunteers.*

LIEUTENANT CALDWELL,
*Acting Assistant Adjutant-General,
First Brigade, Meade's Division.*

The regiment resumed the position it occupied on the night of the 12th, and there remained—the men resting on their arms, neither tents nor fires being allowed—during Saturday night, Sunday and Monday until dark, when it was ordered to get ready to move and recross the river in silence. The object of the order was kept secret. The whole army was returned safely, and had a deliverance, for its position on the plain was entirely commanded by the enemy's batteries. December 19th, the regiment marched to White Oak Church and went into camp, spending the balance of the month arranging winter-quarters, building cabins, doing guard, picket and police duty, and getting the men in good form for another campaign. Here it remained until January 20, 1863, when it started for Bank's Ford on what was known in the army as "Burnside's Mud March," under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Davis, Colonel Biddle having received a leave of absence. Rain began falling at the start and continued day in and day out until the roads were so muddy that it was almost impossible to travel. Many of the men left their shoes sticking in the mud, and often they themselves had to be hauled out of the mud by their comrades. The artillery stuck fast, and so did the pontoon-trains, which had finally to be pulled out of the mud by the infantry. The army was, in fact, stuck in the mud, and could not budge one way or the other. Finally, on the 25th, the men managed to get back to the camp at White Oak Church, completely fagged out and more dead than alive—the worst looking set of "Yanks" possible to imagine. Here they remained until February 14th, when they moved over to Belle Plains to the camp that had been vacated by the 11th Regt. Penna. Reserves. During the stay at White Oak Church, Co. "B" (Captain Laurie, sixty-four muskets) was detailed, February 1st, for duty at the headquarters of General John F. Reynolds, and was not returned to the regiment until after the battle of Gettysburg.

On the 21st of February, the regiment was brigaded with the 135th, 142d and 151st Regts. Penna. Vols., still forming the First

Brigade, Third Division, of the First Corps, and commanded by Colonel James R. Porter, thus bidding farewell to their old companions, the Penna. Reserves, who were ordered to Washington. Colonel Davis having resigned, the command of the regiment devolved on Major Biddle, who continued in command until the return of Colonel Chapman Biddle, on the 29th of March. The regiment remained in camp at Belle Plains until April 20th, when it marched to Port Conway, and on the 21st made a reconnoissance to Port Tobacco, the brigade at this time being under Brigadier-General Thomas A. Rowley, who took command, March 28th. Colonel Chapman Biddle, in a letter of April 22, 1863, describes this miniature campaign as follows:—

“On Monday, April 20th, we had a good hard rain, with a raw air, and no prospect of an advance. In short, the weather was such as to invite in-door employment and recreation exclusively, and accordingly a fine fire was built, benches tilted and legs outstretched with a view to comfort, and books got ready for an agreeable morning, when, to our utter discomfiture, an orderly made his appearance at the tent with directions for an immediate move with three days' rations. Imagine the consternation at such a command, at such a time. Books, reveries and comfortable quarters to be surrendered on the instant for a march in the storm. To saddle up and get ready was the work of but a short time. Thus commenced the march: rain, mud and daylight; a long halt, apparently objectless; and then a renewal of the march, with rain, more mud and twilight; and then rain, the most possible mud and darkness. Onward the gallant Third Division of the First Army Corps advanced. Stout men floundered in the mire, and weaker ones fairly toppled over. Wearers of high boots—the pride and glory and protection of their owners—abandoned them incontinently and sought permanent refuge in the liquid soil. Bare feet measured many weary miles of toil, yet onward the living mass went, buoyed up in the midst of their trials by the seeming importance of the undertaking. At length, long after midnight, exhausted nature obtained temporary relief from its sufferings; and here and there, scattered about the camp-fire were little groups of soldiers, lying huddled together, sleeping without, in most cases, a blanket to cover them. At daylight, up and at it again, this time, however, without rain to pelt them as they move. At length, by 9 o'clock, their journey ends, and they are in a position to meet the enemy. From our camp trace a southeasterly course, passing through the little village of King George Court House, until you reach Port Conway, directly opposite Port Royal, on the Rappahannock River, and you will perceive our route and its terminals; sixteen miles is the measured

distance, but weary ones as they were to the men, they ought, in justice, be computed more than double.

" Portions of pontoons are laid in the river preparatory to crossing, and the general resorts to the old service of wagon-gears, and wheels and logs to represent field-pieces. Some of the troops were ordered to prepare to cross, but the attempt to capture Port Royal was abandoned, and foot-sore and weary during last night and to-day, the men were returned to their camps."



LIEUT. JOSHUA GARSED AND HIS WELL-KNOWN HORSE "BILL."

Chancellorsville.

April 28th the regiment returned, *via* White Oak Church, to its former camping-ground near Pollock's Mills, and between 2 and 3 o'clock on the morning of the 29th started toward the Rappahannock River below Fredericksburg, when it halted and prepared to cross. By 1 o'clock some of the troops had crossed, the rebel pickets having been driven off or captured. It remained opposite the old crossing-place below the town until about 7 o'clock on the morning of the 2d of May, patiently waiting for orders to cross.

Evidently for the purpose of creating confidence and stimulating the men to extra exertion, on the morning of April 30th an order was read informing them that "we are succeeding handsomely on the extreme right," where the Fifth, Eleventh and Twelfth Corps were operating, and that "the enemy must come out of his intrenchments and give us battle or ingloriously fly." Unfortunately the enemy did not choose the latter alternative, but insisted on coming out of his intrenchments and giving us all the battle we had use for at the time.

During the evening the rebel batteries opened on the line, convincing the men that the most comfortable place to get was as close to the ground as possible.

On the morning of May 2d the march was commenced from the position on the extreme left of the Union line toward the right, crossing on a pontoon bridge at United States Ford, and following a road through "the Wilderness," which was on fire; the rattle and roar of battle in the immediate vicinity being most appalling, while wounded men were passing along the road to the rear in great numbers. Continuing on until 1 o'clock on the morning of the 3d, the brigade reached a point on the Orange and Gordonville turnpike, near Ely's Ford, and was placed in reserve. The day was very oppressive and the men greatly wearied, but, notwithstanding, there was little or no straggling, the men being in good spirits during the entire march, which was enlivened more or less by occasional vigorous fire from rebel batteries to which they were exposed, and by the prospects of a march "on to Richmond," for which march ten days' rations had been issued. After sleeping on their arms until 5 o'clock, the men were

aroused and ordered to be in readiness for an attack that was expected but did not come. Proceeding to Chancellorsville, still in reserve, the time was employed in building breastworks, which were strengthened during the following night and day, but were abandoned on the morning of the 6th, when at 1 o'clock the brigade marched to United States Ford and recrossed the river during a heavy rain-storm, and returned to Falmouth.

Although not actually engaged during the battle of Chancellorsville, the men suffered severely from the fatigue of the long and heavy marches, and the building of works almost the entire time, and were under artillery fire much of the time; and fatigued as they had been with constant marching and alarms, both night and day, while on the right, they were not in the best condition for so speedy a countermarch. But even this would have been comparatively trifling had the weather been at all propitious; but as if to add the little feather that should break the back of the grand national camel, the heavens sent torrents, and earth, yes, that sacred soil of Virginia, condescended to liquify to a degree and to stick to invading Yankees that they might thereby be overcome and destroyed.

The following incident may be given as an indication of the high degree in which "prohibition" was held about that time in the vicinity of Chancellorsville: The able regimental quartermaster, Joshua Garsed, in the goodness of his enormous and patriotic heart, nearly annihilated a stout mule-team in his efforts to bring up through the mire from the wagon trains, several miles away, a barrel of whiskey for the use of the men who were toiling in the cold rain, and were soaked through and through and shaking and shivering, and longing for the very article which the appreciative Garsed well knew would be best for them. No time was lost in dumping the barrel and knocking out the bung, and the men, who had gathered around in large numbers, promptly manifested an eagerness to get Uncle Sam in better trim and recuperate the spirits of his nephews by confiscating the spirits contained in the barrel. Lest their thirst should get the better of their discretion, one of the field-officers rolled the barrel over so as to allow the contents to run in the mud, but the men fell to and righted it, when the officer again succeeded in rolling it over; and so the contest waged, success favoring first one side and then the other, until, in the scrimmage, most of the valuable liquid was lost in the mire. Many of the men, however, succeeded in getting their canteens and tin-cups filled, and were not long in filling themselves.

May 7th the brigade moved off to Fitzhugh Woods, four miles below Falmouth, and went into camp next day at Pollock's Mills,

where it remained until May 18th, performing the various duties of camp life and picketing along the river bank.

Colonel Biddle, in a letter of May 15, 1863, gives the following specimen of picket repartee between some of his men and those of a Georgia regiment: "Both sides in this vicinity have pickets along the river, and the men fish or bathe or converse across the stream as the humor inclines them, and generally conduct themselves in a friendly manner. This morning one of our side inquired of a Georgia soldier who was fishing, 'How do the fish bite?' 'Why,' replied Sesesh, 'as they always do, with their mouths.' A little while after Sesesh asked, 'What has become of Hooker?' 'Oh,' retorted one of ours, he has gone to Stonewall Jackson's funeral.' "

On the 17th of May, a number of those captured by the rebels at the battle of Fredericksburg rejoined the regiment. On the 18th, as a sanitary measure, the regiment moved over to White Oak Church and encamped in an open field. The weather being excessively hot, the men of both armies indulged in bathing in the river, conversing freely with each other; some of the men on various occasions crossing the river and remaining with the rebels for an hour or so, bartering coffee, etc., for tobacco, and making inquiries—a singular phase of warfare that must not be lost sight of when forming a conception of the disposition of the American soldiers, who, when the hour of conflict arrived, were ready to sacrifice their lives in defense of their convictions, but appeared to harbor no hatred for those of their countrymen who entertained a different belief and were ready to die in its defense. No history of any war, since the beginning of warfare, presents such a spectacle. Invariably, hatred between the contestants is a prominent feature which leads to pillage and useless infliction of suffering when opportunities occur. But unless in actual conflict, the men comprising the fighting elements of the opposing armies during the War of the Rebellion seemed ready to extend manifestations of friendship for each other.

There was one man in the regiment who was neither useful nor ornamental, and who would have served his country with far better results had he never entered the army. This man could not be persuaded nor induced, by any means within the scope of the ingenuity of the colonel to adopt, to perform his duty, and nothing short of a bayonet at his back could compel him to perform the penalties of his shortcomings. He would desert the regiment on every opportunity; but some enterprising provost guard would soon return him to camp, much to the disgust of his comrades. No matter how often a gun was furnished him, he would not carry it, but would throw it away on the

first march. When selected for work of any kind he would refuse, and was nearly always under guard for disobedience of orders or for skulking from the regiment, and was never known to be within range of the rebel guns. At Pollock's Mills he was detailed to walk the camp from one end to the other, a flour barrel with the heads out shoved over his shoulders and marked "skulker." But in order to make him comply with the orders to walk, a guard with fixed bayonets was appointed to march in his rear and probe him up occasionally. That he was a "walker," however, he proved to the satisfaction of his comrades, for he left the regiment on its way to Gettysburg and was never heard from afterward.



MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE G. MEADE.

Gettysburg.

June 12th, commenced the various marches that led up to the great crash at Gettysburg. The pickets were withdrawn, and at 6 A. M. the regiment crossed the Falmouth Railroad at Stoneman's Switch, and marched until nearly 8 o'clock at night, with occasional short rests. Owing to the intense heat, the men suffered very much, and were hardly able, many of them, to drag their weary limbs to camp, which was pitched at Deep Run, four miles from Hartwood Court-house. On the 13th they fell in at 6.30 A. M. and marched twelve miles to a place known as Bealeton Station; and on the 14th (Sunday) started again, between 8 and 9 A. M., and marched a severe day's journey as far as Manassas Junction, reaching camp about two hours after midnight. The men were on foot for upwards of fifteen hours, and accomplished upwards of twenty-seven miles. At the Junction they slept in the rear of one of the many earthworks with which that part of Prince William County was supplied. At this time General Reynolds had been assigned to the command of the First, Third and Eleventh Corps, constituting now the left wing of the army. At 6 next morning (Monday, the 15th) the men were aroused, and at 7 set in motion for Centreville, which was reached about noon. On the 17th they started early from Centreville and marched until 6 A. M. when the regiment was detailed as a rear-guard to the trains, reaching Broad Run on the 18th, where it rested until June 25th, when it started again in pursuit of the rebels, striking the Leesburg Turnpike where the road crosses the stream, continued some distance on that road, then, bearing to the right, marched for and reached the Potomac at Edward's Ferry, at the mouth of Goose Creek. Over the pontoons, it again returned to Maryland, and pushed on until evening, when it halted and rested at Barnesville. The latter part of the march was in the rain, which made it disagreeable for the men. At 3 o'clock, June 26th, commenced preparation for a continuation of the move, and started soon after, marching to Poolesville, thence to Greenville, then crossed the Monocacy Creek, then to Adamstown, on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and at a mile or so beyond crossed the Catoctin Mountains, thence to a point less than a mile from Jefferson, when a

halt was made. The enemy at this time was fortifying the South Mountain passes twelve or fifteen miles further west. The march was resumed on the morning of the 27th towards South Mountain, and after two or three hours halted again near Middletown, on the Meyerstown road, within eight miles of Boonsboro. At this time all kinds of rumors were running through the army about the doings of the rebels in Pennsylvania, one of which was that Harrisburg had been taken; and the excitement reached such a pitch that no amount of marching or suffering on the part of the men appeared to affect the desire to move on and get within striking distance as soon as possible. It was quite common to see the sore-footed and shoeless men marching over the stones barefooted, and submitting without complaining while climbing the stony mountain roads, trudging away, contented that at least they were after the "rebs."

On the 28th the word was passed that General Meade was in command of the army and that the First, Third and Eleventh Corps, under Reynolds, were to push on rapidly to Gettysburg, through Emmittsburg, Md. Leaving camp about 5 P. M., the division passed through a most charming country, and fields heavy with grain or bright with grass; mountains surrounding the valleys and affording beautiful views almost in every direction, the moon shining brightly during a portion of the march, and the men, in fine spirits, reaching camp near Frederick shortly before 10 P. M.

Leaving Frederick early on Monday morning, June 29th, the line pushed on to near Emmittsburg, a distance of something over twenty-five miles, arriving at destination about 8 P. M. The route lay through Lewistown, Catoctin Furnace, Mechanicsville and Franklinville, and through a splendid region of country. The day being more or less rainy made the walking hard on the men, but in other respects they managed to get on very well. The villages through which they passed were strongly Union, and the soldiers were welcomed by the inhabitants with flags and waving of handkerchiefs and with water, etc., for the men. Many of the people of Emmittsburg handed cakes and bread to the soldiers as they went by.

The commissary trains were unable to keep anywhere near the troops on this march, and, as a consequence the want of food induced many of the men to leave the ranks and raid on the products of the farms of this rich country. Two or three corps of the Army of the Potomac were now congregated in the neighborhood of Emmittsburg, the First Corps being on the extreme left, and on the advance of the line facing north, the Third Division being on the left of the First Corps, and the First Brigade on the left of the Third Division, the men all in fine spirits and anxious to go forward.



"OFTEN THE CASE."

Commenting on the march up to Emmittsburg, Comrade Frank H. Evans, who was a sergeant in Company "E," and very severely wounded at Gettysburg, shot through the neck, writes as follows:—

"What were their thoughts, coming back to the home side of the Potomac? The men were singing 'Maryland, my Maryland.' What had they seen in Virginia? Desolation! No fences, no cultivation, almost no inhabitants, and the roads lost in the fields. Nothing but roads! Roads and mud everywhere. Was this to be the fate of their own native State? Was there the slightest chance that the 'rebel horde' would desolate the North? Not a man of them thought so. What was the cause of this confidence? Did they feel it in their bones? Was it not instinct? The Army of the Potomac, that had been so often whipped and baffled, felt that it had not had a fair chance in the open field, but, on the contrary, was always on the offensive, and attacking earthworks, which would not be the case this time. A like confidence in their success, no doubt, prevailed the army of Northern Virginia.

"The march through Maryland, up towards Gettysburg, was over mountains and through a rich country in a high state of cultivation—a pleasant change from desolated and endless lowlands. Field after field, mile after mile, in the blue curtain of haze, stretch the fertile

valleys. Houses, barns, grain and fruit, all in order. Was there any war? The men might have looked at their guns, their dirt, their tents and at their comrades to convince themselves of it. From the mountain top the march was delightful. The dusty roads, the scorching heat, the warm, vapid water from the canteens which had been the late experience in Virginia, gave way to clear, cool wells and to a day of clouds and showers, and the mud of the road was soon tramped and dried so that it became as spongy as a carpet; and such fields of wheat, and such wheat! It seemed almost barbarous that in filing through the fields it was necessary to destroy such bountiful results of the kindness of Providence and of the labor and skill of man."

Early on the morning of Tuesday, June 30th, with ranks well closed up and no stragglers, leaving Emmittsburg in the rear, the march was continued until within about six miles from Gettysburg and three from Fairfield, where the regiment was sent out on picket, the right of its line resting at I. and I. Bigham's, on Marsh Creek, and running in a westerly direction to C. Topper's, on Middle Creek. The western half of the line, under the command of the major running due west from the cross-roads by W. Ross White's (where the Bullfrog Road runs northwest towards Fairfield, and a road runs northeast to strike the Gettysburg Turnpike), down a rocky hill, passing through a worm fence and some very lovely country—occasionally open, but generally very rocky—through a wood, and on through a wheat-field and potato-patch to Middle Creek. From the cross-roads east to Marsh Creek the line was directed by the colonel. Here information was received that the rebels had retired from Fairfield and were at Cashtown, under either Hill or Ewell, about 15,000 strong, and that Lee was at Chambersburg. Before night, Colonel Chapman Biddle was ordered to take command of the brigade, leaving the regiment under the command of Major Alexander Biddle. Early on the morning of Wednesday, July 1st, the column was set in motion while the regiment was yet on picket, but orders were hurriedly given to withdraw and fall in, and with two companies deployed as flankers the regiment was marched through the fields toward the front, reaching one of the branches of Marsh Creek, turning to the left, the sound of artillery being heard ahead, and passing the brow of a hill on a pretty broad road leading into Gettysburg, when it became evident that the conflict was near at hand. Finally, when orders were given to unsling knapsacks and advance in line of battle, the men abandoned their former hilarity, and, becoming more seriously disposed, mechanically set themselves to work with the seeming determination of annihilating any obstacle that should present itself. A little before 11 A. M., the regiment was stationed on the



CAPTAIN JAMES ASHWORTH.

extreme left of the Union line, the First Brigade, consisting of the 20th New York State militia, the 151st, 142d and 121st Pennsylvania regiments, and Cooper's battery ("B," First Pennsylvania Artillery), occupying the left of the Third Division of the First Corps. Cooper's battery was flanked on each side by portions of the brigade.

This position was subjected to a concentrated fire from a line of rebel infantry that far overlapped the Union line, and the rebel artillery seemed to particularly favor this point as a conspicuous target. No infantry support whatever was on the left of the regiment, and no obstacle in the way of the passage of any portion of the enemy to its left and rear.

After considerable manœuvring, the men were ordered to lie down in the tall grass just behind the knoll of the hill and await the approach of the rebels, who, towards 3 P. M., were seen advancing in two heavy lines, composed of troops of Heth's division, Hill's corps. Cooper's battery promptly opened fire, and throughout the engagement did splendid work, the men serving their guns with a degree of alacrity that plainly manifested they were then in their element.

It seems like folly to undertake an adequate description of the contest that followed on this portion of the line. The various manœuvres on the field in the beginning of the action, in full view and under the fire of the rebel batteries, had wrought the men up to that stage of excitement that invites the culmination of the combat. None can imagine, without witnessing, the resolution of the men, their reckless daring and evident determination to stay and vanquish even though it must have been manifest to them that unless their line should be extended further to the left, they must soon succumb to superior numbers, for the lines of the enemy as they advanced extended far beyond the Union left flank. The left of the line was on a slight elevation a portion of Seminary Ridge, and before becoming engaged with the enemy's infantry the men had an opportunity of viewing the contest as it lingered on other portions of the field on the right. The movements of the enemy and the struggles of the Union troops to secure and retain advantage were plainly visible. Finally, as the enemy kept extending to the south, the regiment was moved and faced west and south at various times in order to meet them with the best advantage. The troops immediately in front of Biddle proved to be Pettigrew's Confederate brigade in the first line, followed by Perrin's (then McGowan's) brigade in the second line.

As soon as the Confederates had reached within a few yards of the top of the ridge, the men arose and delivered their fire directly in their faces, staggering them and bringing them to a stand, and from

that moment the musketry rattle and artillery fire kept up such a constant roar as would bewilder men under any other circumstances. Pettigrew's brigade, failing to make any impression on the Union line, Perrin's came to its relief, and took the front and continued the advance.

The contest waxed warm, yes, as the boys had it, "red hot," the men falling fast in the face of the leaden storm that howled around them. Still they maintained their ground, delivering their fire with precision and rapidity, keeping nobly to their work and never flinching or wavering. The regimental flag, borne by Color Sergeant William Hardy, was perforated with bullets and the staff shot into three pieces. The coolness of Colonel Chapman Biddle, commanding the brigade, was remarkable. Throughout this tornado of fire he rode back and forth along the line of his brigade, and by his daring, by his apparent forgetfulness of his own danger, accomplished wonders with his four small regiments—cheering his men and urging them through that fiery ordeal, his words unheard in the roaring tempest, but, as well by gesture and the magnificent light of his countenance, speaking encouragement to the men on whom he well knew he could place every reliance. A modest, unassuming gentleman in the ordinary walks of life, suddenly transformed into an illustrious hero, the admiration of friend and foe. Even his devoted horse seemed to partake of the heroism of the rider, as he dashed along the line between the two fires, daring the storm of death-dealing messengers that filled the atmosphere. Finally a wound caused the horse to rear badly and fall to the ground, but the colonel fortunately was unhurt, excepting a slight scalp-wound from a rifle-ball. Major Alexander Biddle also seemed to be everywhere at once, and displayed that degree of coolness and command that instills courage into the men. In fact, all officers and men were at home, apparently imbued with the determination to maintain that line at all hazards.

As an indication of the severity of the fighting on the 1st of July, General Heth, the commander of the division of rebel troops in front of the 1st Brigade of the 3d Division reports: "My division numbered some 7,000 muskets. My loss was severe. In twenty-five minutes I lost 2,700 men killed and wounded." Over 100 men per minute killed and wounded out of a body of 7,000. There must have been lively work to accomplish such a feat. No wonder General Hill in his official report finds occasion to justify himself for not following up his advantage by stating: "My own two divisions exhausted by some six hours' hard fighting, prudence led me to be content with what we had gained and not push forward troops exhausted and necessarily disordered."

General Hill also states in his official report that "Pettigrew's brigade, under its gallant leader, fought most admirably and sustained heavy loss." Some of our officers left wounded on the field reported subsequently that only scattered troops of Pettigrew's brigade passed them to the first position abandoned by Biddle's brigade.

The ground was thus held against vastly superior numbers for a considerable time, during which the losses inflicted on the enemy were greater in actual numbers than our own, so much so, that so far as the force in front was concerned, there was no reason to give up the position. As the contest continued, however, the enemy could be plainly seen developing their lines further to the south, and as there were no troops there to receive them, it became painfully evident that the line would be forced to fall back. The stand was maintained until the very last moment, thus giving the battery that had worked so faithfully, and had done such excellent service, an opportunity to limber up and get safely out of reach.

"The wave of battle as it rolled southward reached every part in turn, and the extreme Union left, where Colonel Chapman Biddle's brigade was posted, at length felt its power. A body of troops, apparently an entire division, drawn out in heavy lines, came down from the west and south, and, overlapping both of Biddle's flanks, moved defiantly on. Only three small regiments, 121st Penna. Vols., 142d Penna. and 20th New York, were in position to receive them; but, ordering up the 151st Pennsylvania and throwing it into the gap between Meredith's and his own, and wheeling the battery into position, Biddle awaited the approach. As the enemy appeared beyond the wood, under cover of which they formed, a torrent of death-dealing missiles leaped from the guns. Terrible rents were made, but, closing up, they came on undaunted. Never were guns better served, and though the ground was strewn with the slain, their line seemed instantly to grow

Werts, in his "Hand-Book on Gettysburg," says: "Again and again, through bloody hours of battle, these two divisions (Heth's and Pender's), consisting of the brigades of Archer, Davis, Brockenbrough and Pettigrew, of Heth's command, and the brigades of McGowan, Scales, Thomas and Lane, of Pender's, beat upon the Iron Brigade—upon Stone's brave Bucktail Brigade, of Doubleday's division, that had now come to their support; upon Biddle to their left, upon Cutler to their right. These four weakened brigades were fighting eight well-filled brigades of the rebel army. For hours it was one continuous clash and roar of battle, now backward, now forward. Biddle, Morrow, Stone, Cutler—it is impossible to decide which was the hardest pressed, which fought the most bravely and recklessly, which lost the most heavily."

together, as a stone thrown into the waves disappears and the waves flow together again. The infantry fire was terrific on both sides, but the enemy outflanking Biddle, sent a direct and doubly-destructive oblique fire, before which it seemed impossible to stand. But though the dead fell until the living could fight from behind them as from a bulwark, the living stood fast as if rooted to the ground."—"*The Valley of the Shadows of Death.*"

The order was given to fall back about 4 P. M. The distance across the country to the Lutheran Seminary was nearly a quarter of a mile, partly over open fields, and the time made by the 121st getting to the cover of the wood beyond was remarkable, probably the best on record. Once inside the wood and abreast of the seminary, where a frail breastwork had been erected along a rail fence, the next stand was made. Although the regiment had suffered considerably in the beginning of the retrograde movement, the Confederates appeared to be too much staggered to closely follow up their advantage. They failed to advance further than the point that had been occupied by the brigade, and were content from that position to peg away at the boys as they skedaddled toward the seminary, just within the edge of the wood. There the men awaited the advance that was expected. They were disappointed, so far as their late antagonists were concerned and were given a few moments to take breath, while the rebels were either resting or, under cover of the hills, shifting off to the left and rear of the Union line. It was not to be, however, that the regiment should remain idle and unmolested very long in its new position. Troops moving in a direction parallel with its own line from a point on the right, and not over one hundred and fifty yards in front, were seen marching, as if on parade, toward the left flank. The regiment opened on them without ceremony, but failed to draw their fire, and the officers gave the order to "stop firing on our own men." For a short interval, during which the men had an opportunity to take a good look at their new friends, the enemy, everything was quiet, but, suspecting, they were on the alert, with every piece loaded and ready for use. Suddenly their new adversaries halted, and, facing the regiment, deliberately opened their fire, which was returned with promptness, and for quite a while the contest raged in the wood alongside the seminary, with determination on both sides. The enemy being in full view and our men having had somewhat of a rest during the lull and partly protected by a slight barricade of rails and boards from fences, felt fully competent to contest the ground, and the thinning out of the rebel ranks soon gave evidence that the calculation was correct. The Confederates, facing the fire without flinching,

fell fast, the Union musketry being one continuous rattle, under which no line of troops could long endure. To the dismay of the men holding this position, however, it was ascertained that the rebel forces were marching at this time far beyond and in rear of their flank, and to save themselves from capture they were compelled to "get up and get" in the most approved fashion, hastening on, without semblance of order, through and beyond the town of Gettysburg, and halting on Cemetery Ridge. The records of the War Department give the losses of the regiment in this battle as twelve killed, one hundred and six wounded, and sixty-one missing—total, 179; but the actual number of the killed was twenty-one, and of the wounded, six were mortally wounded. Out of seven officers and two hundred and fifty-six men who entered the engagement, July 1st, there were left but two officers and eighty-two men, showing a loss of one hundred and seventy-nine, or 68 per cent of its force.

The following extract from a letter written January 27, 1892, by Colonel N. Brown, formerly of the 14th South Carolina Volunteers (McGowan's brigade), to Captain Clapp, of Company "F," 121st Regt. Penna. Vols., would indicate a difference of opinion as to what Confederate troops finally drove Rowley's brigade, commanded on the 1st of July, 1863, by Colonel Chapman Biddle, from the Lutheran Seminary:—

"ANDERSON, S. C., January 27, 1892.

"CAPTAIN J. M. CLAPP, Washington, D. C.

"DEAR SIR:—Yours of 25th received. General Rowley's brigade fought General Pettigrew's North Carolina brigade on the morning of the 1st of July, 1863, and McGowan's, commanded by Colonel Perrin, in the afternoon, so that you fought us both. General Pettigrew's brigade was repulsed and withdrawn, and ours went in to his relief, passed over his troops, and made the final charge on the works in front of the Lutheran Seminary. There was some considerable interval, however, between Pettigrew's advance and ours, though he might have been engaged as late as the early afternoon."

Relative to the contest on the left of the line, Werts' "Hand-Book" gives the following:—

"Passing out the Hagerstown Road we find, a short distance west of Seminary Ridge, a second or lower ridge, which is the commencement of Reynolds Avenue. The first monument on the avenue is that of the gallant 121st Pennsylvania. During the weary and bloody hours of July 1st, the brigade (Biddle's) was frequently compelled to change front, as the attacks of the enemy came at various times from the north or west. Sometimes they were compelled to take a position at right angles with the balance of the line. About 2.30 P. M., the final attack was made in tremendous force, and, as the deep overlapping lines advanced simultaneously from both north and south, the little brigade was arranged as judiciously as possible to

receive the onslaught. The 121st was on the extreme left of the line to their right was the 20th New York, then a battery, then the 142d Pennsylvania, the 151st having been previously detached for temporary assistance in the support of the position occupied by Stone's Second Brigade. The 121st received the enemy, advancing directly on their front with so withering a fire that they were driven back in confusion; but their bravery was of no practical value, as the dense masses of the foe, overlapping and enfolding their extreme left, and getting far in their rear compelled them to fall back. Their wounded men left on the field report that so destructive was the fire the regiment delivered to the front that none but scattered squads of the enemy ever crossed that portion of the field during the retreat of the Union troops and the Confederate pursuit. Completely outflanked on the left, the regiment withdrew to the high ground immediately in rear of the seminary, and nearer the Chambersburg Pike than their present position. Here, protected by a rail barricade which had been thrown up earlier in the day, the shattered remnants of this and other regiments made a most gallant resistance against many times their own number, until most of the artillery had been withdrawn and the line on Cemetery Hill was securely established. When the brigade reached Cemetery Hill, fresh cartridges were issued and they prepared to resist the expected onslaught. The enemy, however, had suffered too severely in almost seven hours of desperate fighting to make the hazardous attempt. The 121st entered the engagement of the 1st with seven officers and two hundred and fifty-six men, of whom at night there remained two officers and eighty-two men, being a loss for the day of 179, or more than 65 per cent. of all engaged (this is 68 per cent. of loss). These figures tell the terrific nature of the opening encounter of the great battle."

Fox, in his "Regimental Losses in the Civil War," says:—

"A noteworthy feature of that day (July 1, 1863), was that the First Corps although finally driven from the field by a superior force, succeeded in capturing, at different times and at different points on the field, parts of three brigades of the enemy, Archer's, Davis' and Iverson's, taking them in open field fighting, where there were none of the usual accessories of breastworks, intrenchments or protection of any kind other than that which the field afforded. The First Corps fought that day with no other protection than the flannel blouses that covered their stout hearts." From the same authority it appears that the First Corps went into the engagement July 1st, with an infantry force of 9,403, and its loss for the three days in killed and mortally wounded was 1,098, say, 11.8 per cent., a higher percentage than in any other corps engaged during these three fearful days, and a higher actual loss than in any other corps except one, the Second Corps having in killed and mortally wounded 1,238; but that corps went into the battle with 12,363 men, making its percentage of loss only 10 per cent. The conclusion is fairly warranted that "to the stubborn resistance of the First Corps of the Army of the Potomac, on the first day of July, 1863, the ultimate defeat of Lee's invading army is in a very large measure to be attributed."

BIVOUCAC IN THE FIELD,
Thursday, July 2, 1863.

COLONEL.—The 121st Pennsylvania Volunteer Regiment, under my command, marched from W. R. White's house, in Freedom Township, yesterday morning, Wednesday, July 1st. On arriving at the top of the hill bordering the valley in which Gettysburg lies, we were marched into a field on the left of a wood, through which we saw the First Division driving the enemy. We remained in this field exposed at all times to an enfilading or direct fire, sometimes facing northwardly and sometimes westwardly, as the attack of the enemy varied. A large body of the enemy's troops had been seen to the west of our position throughout the day. While we were taking up a position facing to the north, to support a battery at the corner of a wood, these troops were seen advancing. We were ordered to form to meet them, and changed front to effect it. As the proper position assigned to the 121st Regiment was immediately in front of the battery, we were moved to the extreme left, with the 20th New York on our right. I saw the line of the enemy slowly approaching up the hill, extending far beyond our left flank, for which we had no defense. As the enemy's faces appeared over the crest of the hill, we fired effectually into them, and soon after received a crushing fire from their right, under which our ranks were broken and became massed together as we endeavored to change front to the left to meet them. The immediate attack on our front was destroyed by our first fire. The officers made every possible effort, and Captains Ashworth and Sterling, and Lieutenants Ruth and Funk were all wounded. The regiment, broken and scattered, retreated to the wood around the hospital, and maintained a scattering fire. Here, with the broken remnants of other regiments, they defended the fence of the hospital grounds with great determination. Finding the enemy were moving out on our left flank with the intention of closing in on the only opening into the barricade, I reported the fact to the division commander, and by his directions returned to the fence barricade. The rebels advancing on our left flank soon turned the position, and our regimental colors, and the few men left with them, moved out of the hospital ground, through the town, to our present position,¹ where we now have exactly one-fourth of our force, and one commissioned officer beside myself. I beg particularly to call attention to the meritorious conduct of Sergeant William Hardy, color-bearer, who carried off the regimental colors, the staff shot to pieces in his hands; also, to the gallantry of Captain Ashworth and Lieutenant Ruth, both wounded; also, to Lieutenants Funk and Dorr

¹ Cemetery Hill.

and Captain Sterling. Acting Sergeant-Major Henry M. Cowpland, Sergeant Henry H. Herpst, in command of Company "A," and Sergeant Charles Winkworth, are all deserving of high commendation; also, Corporal John M. Bingham, of Company "A."

The constant changes of position which the regiment was ordered to make, and the seeming uncertainty of which way we were to expect an attack, or what position we were to defend, was exceedingly trying to the discipline of the regiment. Its conduct was, in my opinion, far beyond praise. I also wish to call attention to those whom the men speak of, as deserving of high commendation: Sergeants Robt. F. Bates, Wm. A. McCoy, Joshua L. Childs (wounded, who insisted on remaining with his company), John M. Taggart, James Allen and Chas. Barlow; Corporals Daniel H. Weikel and Edward D. Knight, and Privates T. B. H. McPherson and Wm. Branson.

Respectfully submitted,

A. BIDDLE,

Major 121st Pennsylvania Volunteer Regiment

COLONEL CHAPMAN BIDDLE,

Commanding First Brigade, Third Division, First Army Corps.

From the evening of Wednesday, July 1st, until about 11 o'clock on the morning of Friday the 3d, the regiment occupied a position east of the Taneytown Road, and in rear of the hill now occupied by the National Cemetery.

On the morning of the 3d, under the command of Major Alexander Biddle, it was moved southwardly on the Taneytown Road about a half mile, and, with the other troops of Doubleday's division, took up a position in rear of the batteries and about 100 yards from the front line of battle, on what is now known as the Himmelbach Farm; although at the time it was impossible to distinguish one farm from another, as all the fences were down and the rails taken for breastworks or fuel. A ravine extending in an oblique direction from our left and rear, and passing about 100 yards to the right of the regiment, terminating at about the position of Cushing's battery, was used by the artillery in moving to and from the front, and in this ravine a number of artillery horses were killed and wounded. Shortly after getting into position the great artillery duel commenced, and for two

Gen. Rowley commanded the brigade on the 2d of July, but on the 3d Col. Biddle again took command and continued brigade commander until September 24th; the regiment during this time being under the command of Major Alex. Biddle, except for a portion of the month of August, when Adjutant Hall had command.



SERGEANT SAMUEL C. MILLER.

hours fairly made the earth tremble ; but, singularly enough, although the solid shot flew over and around the men, and the shell burst over them continually, filling the air with a constant roar and making a pandemonium for the time being, but three men in the regiment were wounded, while others passing to and fro every few minutes were blown to fragments. A caisson, filled with ammunition, driving rapidly to its position, exploded directly in rear of the regiment, no vestige of the driver being seen afterward.

The ground was plowed up by cannon balls and the clay thrown over the men, but they knew how to keep close to Mother Earth in times like this, and all except the three above mentioned escaped injury.

Having received no rations since before leaving Emmitsburg on the morning of June 30th, there was scarcely a mouthful of anything to eat in the entire regiment, and no prospect of any within the next twenty-four hours, and the men were almost famished ; when, by a streak of good fortune the regiment of Berdan Sharpshooters halting for a short time alongside, on finding that the men were without rations, generously opened their haversacks and shared their contents with the hungry 121st—a gracious act of kindness fully appreciated.

The view from the point occupied was grand. To the right the batteries on the hill now occupied by the cemetery, as well as to the left the two Round Tops and the batteries on Little Round Top belching forth their showers of shot and shell on the rebel lines, were all in

Referring to this battle between the opposing artillery, J. Howard Werts makes the following observation in his "Hand-Book on the Gettysburg Battlefield:" "On the afternoon of July 3d, 1863, it (the house where General Meade had his headquarters) was riddled with shot and shell. At one time the shell burst here at the rate of six in a second. Oh, the terrible artillery of Gettysburg ! No one that heard it can forget it while life lasts. Old soldiers beyond its range, as they listened, glared at each other with blanched and ghastly faces, wondering what would come next. If the artillery of the third day was terrific to men beyond its range, what was it to the heroes into whose shattered ranks it was falling in one continued sweeping, howling tempest of destruction ? For nearly three hours it burst with all its concentrated fury on Webb and Hall and Harrow and Doubleday. For their brave men there was no shelter, no refuge. Of this fire Webb says: "Every conceivable bolt of destruction was striking in our midst—that dreadful thud everywhere ; horse and carriage and dismounted gun lying where a little before stood the Union battery ; the wounded suffering and the dying still and quiet in their midst. When will it cease ? Can you not, brave comrades, whose bonds were then cemented in blood, feel even yet the heat of that exploding caisson, the stones and sand from that bursting shell ?'"

full view. There was also a good view of Pickett's charge, later on, and the hand-to-hand encounter with the Philadelphia Brigade a short distance to the right, and the capture of many of those who participated in the desperate charge. Although the same men, the same flesh and the same blood had so desperately fought but a few moments before, now that the game was up, all seemed to be changed. Rebels in conflict and rebels in captivity were as different as is possible for enemies and friends to be. The captives were treated with the utmost courtesy by our men, who gladly shared their scanty rations with those with whom but a short time previously they were contending for their lives and for victory. The artillery fire and skirmishing kept up during the remainder of the day, gradually died away, and the great fight was over.

HEADQUARTERS 121ST REGT. PENNA. VOLS.

NEAR GETTYSBURG, PA., July 4, 1863.

LIEUTENANT:—I have the honor to report that the command of the First Brigade, which had devolved upon me on the night of June 30th and during July 1st, was resumed on the 2d instant by General Rowley. The report of the operations of the brigade on the first day's fight has already been furnished, including that of the 121st Regt. Penna. Vols. I have now to add a few words in reference to the part taken by the regiment on the 2d and 3d instants. On the morning of the 2d, the regiment was moved into a field to the south of and near the cemetery, and placed under cover of a stone wall by the roadside, where it remained during the forenoon. Toward 12 M. it was exposed to a severe shelling, which reached it both from the front and rear during a sharp attack made by the enemy on our extreme right. The peculiar shape of the general line of battle, resembling somewhat a flattened horseshoe, will account for the effect. In the afternoon the fire slackened, when the regiment was moved behind a wall on the other side of the road, in which position its defenses were reached by the enemy's musketry. The attack on this part of our line ceased toward evening, when the regiment changed its position to a field in front, and subsequently to the road, where the night was passed.

On the morning of the 3d the regiment was moved to the left, to a field nearly opposite to our left centre, where it remained during the morning, exposed somewhat to the enemy's fire. Toward 1 P. M. a violent cannonading, from a very large number of pieces of artillery, was concentrated on our position, which continued for upward of two hours and a-half, without intermission, destroying much of the breast-work sheltering the men, and wounding three of them. During the

hottest part of this fire the regiment was moved in good order to an adjoining field to the left, and placed behind a breastwork of rails, near the crest of a hill, where it remained throughout the attack on the centre. This attack, of a most determined character, was finally and successfully repulsed towards sundown by the troops in the first line, supported by our artillery. The steadiness of the men during the fury of the unparalleled artillery fire of the enemy cannot be too highly commended, and to it in some measure may be attributed the brilliant results of this day's operations. I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

CHAPMAN BIDDLE,
Colonel 121st Regt. Penna. Vols.

LIEUTENANT WILSON,
Acting Assistant Adjutant-General.

On the 4th (Saturday) the rain fell in torrents, drenching the men to the skin. On this day the first opportunity for many weeks occurred for sending letters home, and on this day, also, was received the first regular issue of rations for about five days; and as the number of men had been considerably reduced since the last muster, June 30th, there was a decided surplus of hard-tack, coffee, etc. On the 5th, the regiment encamped on a slight elevation, so as to avoid as much as possible the ground that had been soaked by the heavy rain; and on the 6th joined in the pursuit of the beaten rebels, going as far as Emmitsburg and halting northeast of the town; on the 7th, continued on toward Middletown; on the 8th, marched through South Mountain Pass and bivouacked on its western side. July 9th, marched to near Boonsborough, on Beaver Dam Creek, constructing, July 10th, a slight breastwork to cover the right flank of the army, and remaining in position until July 12th, when the march was continued through Funkstown, crossing the Antietam and coming under the fire of the enemy's skirmishers; formed line of battle and threw up timber and earth defenses. The regiment continued here until the 14th, when it moved toward Williamsport, keeping up a lively skirmish and looking for a general engagement. July 15th, retraced the march to foot of South Mountain, near Crampton's Gap and Farm. July 16th, crossed the mountain and marched through Burkittsville to a point near Petersville and Berlin, and encamped. The following letter was written by Col. Biddle, from Petersville, July 17th, commenting on the movements around Gettysburg:—



SKIRMISHING AMONG THE WHEAT STACKS.

NEAR PETERSVILLE, MD., July 17, 1863.

Friday Night, 10 P. M.

Meade, aided probably by the judgment of Reynolds, penetrated immediately into the purpose of his adversary, and bringing together, as rapidly as possible, the scattered fragments of his army, prepared himself to oppose the execution of Lee's plan, and so brief was the time allowed Meade that he was actually compelled to bring on the engagement with only one corps and part of a second—I refer to the First and Eleventh Corps—in order that he might avail himself of the position near Gettysburg, which, for several reasons, was deemed advantageous to us. On the first of the present month, then, the greatest battle on this continent in every sense of the term was commenced between the opposing forces, the enemy at that time having a greatly preponderating strength. The issue of such a contest was not expected to be favorable to us in the enjoyment of victory, but, evidently, the contest of that day was to be most valuable. It was to assure us of a position where we could meet the enemy when our reinforcements should arrive with something like equality of advantage.

The rebels were puzzled by the attack, and we gained thereby our position and the men with whom to hold it. The second and third days were the development of the plan, and at the end of them, after desperate fighting on both sides, Lee, with his army greatly impaired, was necessitated to escape before further reverse overtook him. To the victorious Army of the Potomac was constantly being added new troops, which in a short time would have given us an advantage in point of numbers, when the superiority of our force might have changed the retreat of the enemy into a rout. Lee has, therefore, utterly failed in this object of his campaign, for the plunder of a few farmers and millers is of comparative unimportance, and has weakened his army to the extent of one-third. Our immediate operations were an active share in the first day's fight and in supporting batteries during the last two. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to give an adequate impression of the fierce cannonading of the second and third. Officers who have been accustomed to war declare that in their experience they have never heard anything to equal it. Its fury beggars description. With the repulse of the enemy came the order for his pursuit, and then were renewed the tedious marches which wear down and wear out the foot-soldiers. To Emmitsburg we returned, and thence to Middletown over the pass of the South Mountain to Boonsboro, to Funkstown, to within a short distance both of Hagerstown and of Williamsport, always tracking the enemy, and at last, when beyond the Antietam, imagining ourselves certain of him. Here for the second and third times during the pursuit, were preparations made for giving him battle; breastworks thrown up and skirmishers sent forward to feel the strength and position of the rebels. At last the fire of the skirmishers became unusually heavy, and the impression general, that another great battle was about to be fought. The enemy's skirmishers were driven almost to the woods, where the main force was supposed to be, when the firing entirely ceased. Night came on and wore away, and in the early morning scouts reported that the enemy had retired for some distance; then, that they had retreated. An advance on our part soon showed the truth of these reports. Our adversary had been a division or so of General Hill's corps, and had slipped away during the night to recross to Virginia once more. But a trifling interval then elapsed between the departure of their last regiments from Williamsport, and our approach, and now, to manœuvre to keep the enemy from attempting any dash towards Washington, we march again to the South Mountain and cross it through Crampton's Gap, pass by Burkittsville, and finally reach our present camp, between Berlin and Harper's Ferry, two or three miles from the river.

July 18th, the march was continued through Berlin, across the Potomac and on to near Waterford, and on the 19th through Hamilton, the regiment reaching Middleburg on the 20th, and remaining there until the 22d, when, taking charge of the trains, it started at 5.30 P. M. for White Plains, reaching Warrenton on the 23d.

As a retaliatory measure for Ewell's treatment of the citizens of York, Pa., the inhabitants of Middleburg, one of the worst secession places in Virginia, were required to furnish the brigade with fresh bread, and they managed to have their quota ready at the hour named. July 26th, Lieutenants Dorr, Etting and Powell, with a half-dozen men, were sent to Philadelphia for recruits. In one of Colonel Biddle's letters of this date, he writes: "One of the saddest spectacles, to my mind, is to see the regiments which, a little less than a year ago were full, now dragging along, hardly as large as former companies. Nothing, certainly, can be more suggestive of the desolation which accompanies war than these mutilated regiments; and yet those of the men who remain retain great elasticity of spirits, and have more or less of the dare-devil spirit in them. Within a couple of days, after a very fatiguing march, which only ended about half-past one in the morning, our men came in singing, to the astonishment of some, and the annoyance of others who were then quietly sleeping after their weary toils." At this time General Newton, a native of Norfolk, Va., commanded the First Corps, and General Kenley, a native of Baltimore, Md., the Third Division. Colonel Chapman Biddle commanded the brigade (First), composed of 121st and 142d Penna. Vols., numbering something over two hundred men. Major Alexander Biddle, commanding the 121st Regiment, received his commission as Lieutenant-Colonel, to date from April 20, 1863.

The regiment remained encamped at Warrenton Junction (in the angle made by the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, and the Warrenton Junction Railroad), until July 30th, during which time nearly the whole Army of the Potomac concentrated in that vicinity, while the main body of the Confederates was at or near Culpeper. The troops were engaged a large portion of the time in repairing the railroad to Rappahannock Station, some nine miles below. On the 31st July, the camp was shifted some three miles further down the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, to guard the railroad, covering that portion from Warrenton Junction to Rappahannock Station. Near the most important points, block-houses were erected, there being four in all. These were built of logs, and were twenty to twenty-five feet square, one story high, and pierced or looped for musketry. These defenses, located near bridges, were intended to require about thirty or forty

men for defense, but would maintain a tolerable force for occasional small offensive operations. The guarding of nine or ten miles of railroad by two small regiments was quite a large contract, nevertheless the responsibility did not weigh sufficiently heavy on the men to deprive them of the faculty of enjoying the comparative rest while guarding the various posts, indulging in pleasant contemplations for some time to come, there being no danger of interference of any moment from any strong force of the enemy breaking in on the line of guards. In fact, during the very hot weather of that period it was quite comfortable to be so nicely sheltered in the cool shades of the wood along the road.

All hopes of a good easy time were wrecked, however, by the receipt of orders to move to Rappahannock Station on the 2d of August, the hottest day of the year up to that time; and during the march "men and animals hung their tongues out of their heads to catch a breath of air, and all creation, inanimate as well as animate, seemed to suffer from the least motion." The regiment encamped near the river bank, and the men were given an opportunity to bathe, of which they were not long taking advantage.

Under date of August 7th, a field officer writes: "The stereotyped phrase 'All quiet along the Rappahannock,' from its amusing application, the other evening by one of the soldiers, produced a good deal of merriment when it was heard. Towards dusk a mounted man was riding through camp, which is in a wood, and, passing between two trees where a clothes-line was stretched, was caught by the rope and emptied out of his saddle on to the ground. A soldier near by, seeing what had occurred, called out to his comrades 'All quiet on the Rappahannock,' which seeming so ridiculous to everyone, a general laugh was the consequence, at the rider's discomfiture. You can hardly imagine the rage which the cavalier exhibited at the situation as he gained his feet. With a volley of oaths, rising above the laughter, he got on his horse and departed from the unfeeling camp."

September 5th, the colonel writes: "This night, one year ago, my regiment left Philadelphia for the seat of war, and since that time it has had a tolerable share of the vicissitudes that usually befall soldiers in active campaign. Out of the number who started with us, we have only a handful left in camp, not much over one hundred privates, some non-commissioned officers, and three or four commissioned officers; the rest are either in the hospitals, dead or performing duty not strictly military. In the time specified, the regiment has been in three of the severest battles fought upon this continent,

and has actively participated in two of them. So far it has performed its work well. It is undoubtedly true that other regiments have done quite as much and suffered to as great an extent, but this does not in any wise detract from the value of the service rendered by the 121st. You see that I cannot allow the anniversary to pass without a word or two of commendation of the good old regiment, to which I feel just now especially attached."

The regiment remained in camp at Rappahannock Station until September 16th, when it marched to Culpeper Court-House, skirmishing being heard in the direction of the Rapidan River. Leaving Culpeper, September 24th, it moved about five miles in a southeasterly direction to a point some four miles from Raccoon Ford, the division being under the command of Colonel Biddle; Lieutenant-Colonel A. B. McCalmont taking command of the brigade. Colonel Biddle writes, September 25, 1863: "One of my first duties as division commander, after reaching here was to prepare for the execution of a deserter from the Third Brigade, appointed to take place to-day, between the hours of 12 M. and 4 P. M. Early this A. M. I rode out and selected a field, on which the troops, at 2.30 P. M., were drawn up and formed three sides of a square, the fourth side being open, in the centre of which was the prisoner's grave. After the troops were drawn up, the procession of the prisoner, guards, etc., entered on the right and marching close to the soldiers passed in front of them along the three sides to the left, when it turned off to the grave. There, in front of it, the coffin was placed, and the prisoner, a pace or two in advance, and near, in front, the execution party. After the sentence was read to him, the chaplain who accompanied him engaged in prayers with him for some time, and, indeed, until the bugle sounded for everything to be got ready for the final act. During the minute which remained, the poor creature had his eyes bandaged by the provost-marshal, and at 3½ o'clock the notes of the bugle sounded for the firing to take place. Of the twelve men selected for the purpose, eight were directed to fire and four to remain in reserve in case the first discharge should prove inefficient. After the last note had died away, the volley was heard and the life of an unfortunate had passed away. Thus ended the career of a man somewhat less than twenty-five years of age. I never witnessed anything so solemn or impressive. Everything passed off as it had been ordered. No confusion, no hurry.

September 27th, having moved two miles nearer to Raccoon Ford, the regiment was detailed to guard the posts and picket along the Rapidan River until the 10th of October, the rebels picketing along



J. M. Clapp

the opposite bank. Picketing was not done at this time as it had been on former occasions, for the rebels, feeling very secure in their strong intrenched positions on the hills on their side of the Rapidan, occasionally fired at the officers and men when they presumed to go out too far or too near the river, where there was no cover for them. Near Fredericksburg, where the regiment picketed for so long a time, the truce existed completely and was not disturbed; but here a different state of things prevailed. Picket-firing occurred just frequently enough on the part of the rebels to make the men circumspect. The Union soldiers were prohibited from returning the fire, and properly, for, situated as they were, they would have been greatly the losers in such a contest.

Colonel Biddle returned to the command of the brigade October 2d.

October 10th brought one of those disagreeable experiences known as night marches, the line leaving camp, near Raccoon Ford, about 1.30 A. M. for Morton's Ford, only some two miles below Raccoon Ford, required the balance of the night to accomplish the distance. After marching about one mile, the guide missed the road, and led the line for a mile or more in the wrong direction, when the column was halted until an investigation was made and the right course was regained, the division reaching the ford at daylight, in support of Buford's cavalry, and remaining at this point the balance of the day.

October 11th, the regiment moved to a point on a ridge between Culpeper and Stevensburg, where it remained resting in rifle-pits, picketing, until 4 A. M., Sunday, October 12th, when the men were ordered to be ready to resume the march, but did not get started until about 10.30 A. M., for the Rappahannock River, which was reached, at Kelley's Ford, at 3.30 P. M. At 1 o'clock the following morning, October 13th, the march was continued in the direction of Warrenton Junction, and until nearly 8 P. M., when Bristoe Station was reached, bivouacking in the vicinity of Manassas Junction, after marching about thirty miles. Starting again early on the morning of the 14th, this severe march was kept up until Centerville was reached in the afternoon of same day. The move from the Rapidan across the Rappahannock to Centerville was an excellent test of the marching qualities of the men—more so than might otherwise appear—from the fact that they were continually hampered by the moving trains that had to be protected from rebel cavalry following closely on the flanks and in the rear. In connection with the movement of wagon trains, Colonel Biddle writes: "Here let me digress a moment to inform you what a wagon train in the army, such as this, really is, and what the passage

of a river consequently means. Imagine to yourself a body of large six-horse or mule wagons, which, if stretched out in the most compact traveling order, will cover a length of twenty-five miles, and imagine after, that any obstacle which affects the head of such a column is necessarily propagated its whole length, and you can then understand what tedious progress such a train will make under the most favorable circumstances of good weather, hard roads and freedom from attack. The absence of any one of these favorable conditions will, of course, impede the motion of such a train more or less seriously. Now, behind portions of this immense train the troops were obliged to march to cover or protect, sometimes in successive, and sometimes in parallel columns. We passed the little village of Stevensburgh, and reached within four or five miles of Kelly's Ford, on the Rappahannock, when, just after we halted for a few minutes' rest, about 1 P. M., we heard heavy reports of firing in our rear. The enemy were following us, and had then engaged the cavalry, under Buford, protecting our rear. When we resumed our march the firing was still sharp, and continued with intermissions until after 5 o'clock in the afternoon, towards which hour we had crossed the river."

In connection with this march to Centerville, there was a vague idea among the men that it was the result of a movement on the part of the enemy to outflank the Union army, and that it was a race for Centerville, and that point once gained, in advance of the rebels, the victory was already won. On arriving at Centerville, there was more or less bewilderment on finding no enemy in the vicinity, although skirmishes of more or less importance were continually being enacted between the cavalry forces within hearing; and, in fact, during the night previous to reaching Centerville it was confidently believed that somewhere in the midst of the Union infantry troops a small force of rebel cavalry was encamped; but no trace of the rebel infantry could be found.

At 7.30 A. M., October 19th, left Centerville to reconnoitre, reaching a point eleven to twelve miles west of Centerville and two miles east of Thoroughfare Gap.

October 20th, about 4 P. M., the troops were set in motion, having a cavalry skirmish just after sundown within three or four hundred yards of the camp. Some of the Union pickets were captured, three were killed and some five or six wounded. The surgeon of the 142d regiment was captured within a few feet of the right of the 121st regiment.

October 24th, the column halted near Bristoe Station, after a long and tedious march, which was unusually hard on the men. They had

to encounter, not only miserable roads and rain, but were obliged to ford two or three streams, one of which was Broad Run, in fording which the men were in water up to their middle.

November 15th, went into camp at Cedar Run Bridge, one-half mile from Catlett's Station and one and one-half mile from Warrenton Junction, protecting the railroad. Finding they were likely to remain sometime at this point, the men soon set about erecting comfortable quarters—log huts, with chimneys, large fire-places, cots, etc. While here, news came of the death, in Philadelphia, of Lieutenant George W. Powell, of Company "C," and that Lieutenant Benjamin Pippet, wounded at Fredericksburg, was transferred to the Invalid Corps, leaving Company "C," as well as well as Companies "D," "I," "G," "H" and "E," without commissioned officers.

Colonel Biddle writes from this camp, November 18, 1863: "This morning I had a visit from an impudent secession woman, who told me, in the most approved Southern style, that she was a secessionist from the top of her head to the sole of her foot. My answer seemed to discomfort her, as I merely said I did not care in the least what she was. She then apologized and hoped I was not offended. To this I answered, 'Not at all, as I did not regard her opinion as of any consequence whatever.' The young spitfire (for she was young) was greatly nettled to find that I considered her and her views as of no importance, which induced her to assail me for my want of gallantry. To see what she was capable of, I remarked that she ought to be sent to the Old Capitol at Washington. At this she expressed a perfect willingness to go; but as it was no part of my purpose to make a martyr of her, especially as she seemed to covet this sort of martyrdom, I added that if she would call to-morrow and surrender herself I might perhaps send her to Washington. Her wounded vanity, at this, received a new shock, and she cried out with feline ferocity, 'So, sir, I see you do not consider me of any importance, and I must say you possess less gallantry than any one I have ever met.' Only think of it, my character almost impeached at my own quarters!"

While guarding the road at Cedar Run, the camps were considerably annoyed by guerillas. On the 19th of November some ten or twelve chased two herdsmen belonging to army headquarters into camp. They had lost three or four cattle from their pen and had gone to look them up, when they were discovered by the guerillas.

A new disposition of the troops of the First Corps was announced November 22d, which placed the Third Division to guard the line of railway from Rappahannock Station to Bull Run Bridge, extending the brigade from Warrenton Junction to Walnut River Bridge, and the

brigade was increased by the addition of the 150th Regt. Penna. Vols., of about 200 men. The main portion of the Army of the Potomac was at this time advancing across the Rapidan River, at Germania, Mitchell's and Ely's Fords, engaging the enemy, and cannonnading could be heard in that direction continually until the last of the month.

On the night of November 28th, the colonel commanding the brigade sent out a scouting party of cavalry to look up some of the guerillas in the vicinity of the camp. The party, with the aid of a guerilla deserter as a guide, was fortunate enough to pick up eight of these worthies, all of whom were sent to Alexandria for detention. The officer in charge of the party reported that at one or two of the houses where the arrests were made, the women were not only very abusive but that they seized clubs, etc., and belabored some of our men soundly. In one instance, one of the guerillas, being in bed, refused to get up, whereupon a cavalryman seized him by the legs and pulled him out. To the surprise of the Union soldier, when the rebel was out of bed, he saw a roll of "greenbacks" where his prisoner had been lying. In an instant both captor and prisoner made a dash for the roll, but in this "Johnny" came off victorious and was allowed to retain his money.

As had always been customary, commanding officers had for some time been furnishing guards for the protection of the property of civilians in the neighborhood of the camp; but the depredations of guerillas finally became so frequent and so outrageous that the colonel withdrew these guards, and after several of his men had been found murdered arrested a number of the most prominent citizens, and gave them to understand that unless these depredations were discontinued he would be compelled to send them to Washington. As a result, the citizens framed and sent to General Lee a petition, of which the following is a copy, and the men were seldom annoyed afterward by guerillas while in this locality:—

"CEDAR RUN, VA., December 2, 1863.

"We, the undersigned citizens of the county of Fauquier, living along the line of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, find it impossible to remain longer at our homes unless something can be done to immediately prevent the murdering of Union soldiers after surrendering as prisoners of war to soldiers of the Southern Confederacy; and as the citizens are held responsible, we earnestly beg that General Lee will protect us by preventing a repetition of such horrible deeds. The occasion which brings forth this appeal, and the last act for which we are responsible, is the robbing, stripping and brutal murder of a young

soldier who was cutting wood near his own camp. Eight citizens were arrested to suffer for the guilty act, but were finally released on condition that we should acquaint you with the facts and to know if such vices are permitted by the commander-in-chief of the Southern army. The officers of the United States army, while fully cognizant of our Southern sentiments, have always kindly protected us with safeguards when necessary, besides often showing us kindness and favors which we had no right to expect from enemies. Under the circumstances it is very hard that our own soldiers should cause them to withdraw that protection, and leave us to destruction and our country to desolation. This is not the first, by many instances, in which the deeds of your scouts have been visited on us. We cannot believe the commander-in-chief of the Southern army, of whom even his bitter enemies speak with the highest respect, is cognizant of this injustice, which falls so heavily on our innocent and unoffending families.

“Yours, very respectfully,

“(Signed) S. G. CATLETT,
W. S. EDMOND,
A. S. MCLEARON,
E. C. TAYLOR

(a wounded, discharged soldier of the Confederate army),

JOHN W. NICHOLS,
CAPT. JAMES MCLEARON
(a soldier of 1812).”

Gamblers had a poor show when once in the clutches of the commanding officer. An up-Jersey jury could not be more severe or exact in carrying out the decree of a court than the colonel of the 121st Regiment in executing his usually correct decisions in cases where demoralizing characters were detected carrying on their nefarious work among the soldiers. About the 1st of December, 1863, a man in the brigade, who was a low professional gambler, was detected at gambling and cheating his comrades. After being placed under guard, he was ordered to strip and give up his money. This he refused to do, alleging that his money was dearer to him than anything else except his life. The officer in charge pointed his pistol at him and gave him one minute to comply. The result was the man did as he was directed, gave up a greasy pack of cards, false dice, and his money. His comrades were then called together and some dozen of them made to take hold of a canvas tent-cover at its sides and corners. The man was next placed on the cover and his comrades ordered to toss him up in the air. His efforts to keep his place were useless, and he

went flying high up in the air, over and over again. After one set of men had become fatigued with tossing, another set was called, and in this way the culprit received a thorough tossing and shaking, amidst the laughter of the whole camp.

The regiment broke camp on the afternoon of December 5th, and following the road parallel with the railroad, marched to within a short distance of Bealton, where, in company with the balance of the brigade, it camped for the night, forming in two lines, with the ambulances and wagon trains between them, so as to protect them from the attack of any enterprising band of guerillas that might be in the vicinity. On the morning of the 6th the march was resumed, and on reaching Rappahannock Station the men were supplied with rations, which, by the way, had been rather scarce. Crossing the river on a pontoon bridge, in full view of the Blue Ridge, they passed over a road almost every feature of which was familiar to them, until about five miles further on they reached the camp at Paoli Mills, near Mountain Run. The camp was already laid out, with an abundance of huts prepared for winter use, built by a North Carolina regiment, and from which the rebels were recently driven.

On the 10th of December, 1863, Colonel Biddle received the papers in response to his resignation. The regiment was now, and had for a long time been, about the size of a full-fledged company, not many more than one hundred men being on hand at all times for active duty after the sick were counted off and details for various services provided for, and both Colonel Chapman Biddle and Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Biddle had for a long time felt that the handful of men now composing the skeleton regiment would not warrant their remaining in the field as officers supposed to be in command of a full regiment; and then there seemed to be no prospect for recruits, although efforts had been made to secure them, in addition to which the health of Chapman Biddle was such that he should not have been permitted to remain in the field as long as he had. So long as there were prospects of active campaigning, however, he refrained from sending in his resignation; and when he finally sent it in, the customary army red tape required the customary time to unravel. It came, however, in course of time; and on the 12th of December, while the regiment was on dress parade, the colonel took a formal farewell, passing along the line and shaking the brawny hand of every man present. Never up to that time did the men know what a hold he had on their affection, and never had they realized how hard it would be to part with the one man who governed with a discipline that was a model of exactness; who required every one to fulfill the law, but who,

behind the outward appearance of a rigid disciplinarian, cherished for his men a fondness that was almost paternal.

Colonel Langhorne Wister succeeded to the command of the brigade.

December 24th, the camp was moved to Culpeper, the men going into winter quarters, building comfortable log huts, and establishing a regular camp, with all the regulations pertaining thereto, such as the performance of police duty, guard and picket duty, dress parades daily, occasional reviews and division inspections. One pleasant duty they performed occasionally was turning out by companies for target practice: while an amusing performance was the daily drilling of the awkward squad by a sergeant of Company "E." The regiment had recently been favored with about thirty recruits, who were distributed among the various companies, but who were collected by themselves every day for drill; and while some were exceedingly awkward, others soon became proficient, particularly in target practice, many being from the interior of Pennsylvania and familiar with the use of the rifle. The day preceding division inspection was always a busy one in camp. Everything had to be cleaned up: uniforms overhauled, holes patched up, straps and belts greased or blackened, guns, plates, buckles, etc., shined up, and everything put in first-class order. Knapsacks had to be packed for the occasion with clean under-clothing and mounted with neatly-rolled blankets, tents all put in order, streets swept, etc., etc.; and then before starting next morning for inspection, faces and hands washed and shoes polished—with fat pork. This day was always dreaded by the 121st Regiment; for, notwithstanding the fact that the men worked like beavers to clean up and look spry, they several times succeeded in securing the distinction of being the dirtiest regiment in the division. There was one man in the regiment who took a particular pride in appearing well on inspection day, and who invariably was complimented by the inspecting officers. This was Christopher Montgomery, of Company "E," an old man, but who had evidently concealed his correct age when enlisting for the war; about fifty-five, and every inch a soldier, straight as an arrow and strong as an ox, good-natured and attentive to duty. Chris. kept his gun at all times shining like a new silver dollar and enveloped in a flannel sack.

That gun made every soldier envious, and was as dear to its owner as a blood relation. But, alas for Chris. and his gun, a squad of wily rebs lit down on him one day while away from camp; and while he was made a prisoner and paroled on the spot, his darling gun was broken into pieces before his eyes.

Several pretty good snow-storms occurred while at Culpeper, and the men engaged in snow-ball battles with their neighbors, the 142d Regiment; and once or twice various other regiments participated, thus bringing on a general engagement in camp, and compelling the field and staff to get out of range in short order—snow fell on the 23d of March, 1864, eight inches deep.

While at Culpeper, Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Biddle, who had received his commission as colonel, having sent in his resignation, received his papers granting it, and bid adieu to the regiment. Although promoted, the boys always knew him as major. He carried a merry twinkle in his eye, and seemed glad whenever any of his men approached him. The sight of his short figure and long stride always gladdened their hearts. They knew they were all right when the major was on hand. When he left, which was near the middle of January, 1864, the command devolved on Major Thomas M. Hall, who was promoted in February to lieutenant-colonel, but who was destined to remain with the regiment but a short time, his health completely failing, and he died shortly after at his home in Germantown.

February 10th, Colonel James Ashworth was, owing to disability resulting from wounds received at Gettysburg, discharged by special order. On the 24th of February the command of the brigade fell to Colonel E. L. Dana, but during the month of March what was left of the old First Corps was wiped out of existence and the remnants scattered among the other corps of the army. The 121st Regt. Penna. Vols. was transferred to the Fifth Army Corps, and placed in the Third Brigade of the Fourth Division, the brigade being under the command of Colonel Roy Stone. On the 12th of April Captain Samuel T. Lloyd, of Company "E," succeeded to the command of the regiment on the retirement of Lieutenant-Colonel Hall.

With the exception of a jaunt to Raccoon Ford, on the Rapidan River, on the 6th of February, and return to camp on the 7th, nothing occurred to interfere with the regular routine of winter quarters at Culpeper until General Grant took the bull by the horns and began his Wilderness campaign in May.



COLOR SERGEANT WILLIAM GILLESPIE GRAHAM

Wilderness.

Breaking camp at 1 o'clock on the morning of May 4, 1864, after taking their coffee and hard-tack, the men started on that never-to-be-forgotten tramp through Dixey under the guidance of the invincible Grant, very far from realizing the magnitude of the enterprise on which they were embarking, and certainly not dreaming of the possibility of entering upon a series of combats that were to continue day after day for successive solid weeks and months without so much as a rest, or with barely time to take the necessary amount of nourishment. They were yet to learn the trade they had undertaken, and which they had supposed they had mastered long before. As for indulging in the luxury of a bath or making a change of clothing during the six weeks from the day the camp at Culpeper was abandoned until the James River was crossed, a man would have been regarded as a full-fledged lunatic to have entertained such a notion. The days were now to be devoted to fighting and marching, and the nights to marching and working on the entrenchments. No time now for rest, no time for sleep, no time for eating or anything else, except at such moments as might be taken up now and then at favorable intervals during lulls or between movements, much of the eating and sleeping being accomplished while on the march. No incentive short of the loftiest degree of patriotism and devotion to their superior officers and to each other, could have enabled the men to pass through such an ordeal cheerfully, overcoming every obstacle, anxiously forging their way forward, always longing to find the enemy, never tiring, never despairing, never complaining.

Reaching the Rapidan River at Germania Ford, at 10 A. M., and crossing with no opposition, the line moved on the Wilderness Plank Road to Wilderness Tavern, where it rested for the night. The morning of May 5th, on this portion of the line, was spent feeling and locating the enemy, which, from the caution exercised in moving the troops, was evidently a difficult task to perform. The woods and underbrush were so thick they may not have been disturbed for centuries. The troops were compelled to cut alley-ways through the thickets with axes and hatchets, in order to proceed, and finally brought up on the

brink of a swamp with short, briery undergrowth, which it seemed impossible to penetrate. However, the effort was made, the men descending a slight declivity to reach this marsh. The firing, now going on at a short distance to the right, was evidence that the line was almost upon the enemy, and the advance proceeded with extra caution. It was fortunate it was so, for the regiment had not progressed far through the swamp when, without seeing a single foe, a sheet of fire opened on the line—if line it could be called—already in great disorder from its endeavors to work through the mire and entangled bushes. Here the men were almost entirely at the mercy of the foe, who, no doubt, had been lying in wait for them for some time. The engagement at this point was of short duration, but quite lively while it lasted, and not at all satisfactory to our men, who could not do much execution while floundering about in the mud and water up to their middle. The obstacles in their way, however, were the means of saving the lives of many, as the aim of the enemy was merely at random, the balls passing harmlessly overhead. Neither combatant could see the other, and the only guide as to the locality of the opponent was the noise of the scrambling through the network of briers and floundering through the mud and water, as well as the irregular musketry fire on either side. It was evident before long that this locality was altogether too unhealthy; and when the order to retire was given, the scrambling to get out of that mud hole was amusing as well as ridiculous. The troops on the right had been withdrawn, and after extricating themselves from that champion mud hole of mud holes, it required considerable agility to catch up to the balance of the troops and regain their place in the division. During this stampede it very naturally followed that the men became somewhat confused and more or less scattered, many not being sure which way to turn. An amusing incident occurred right here, when Colonel Dana, of the 143d Penna. Vols., accosted Sergeant Dempsey, of Company "E," as related by the sergeant. The colonel, it seems, was making straight for the rebel lines, and, hailing Dempsey, asked, "What troops are those over there?" "The rebs," replied the sergeant, who had good reason to know. "Can't be," said the colonel, continuing on, no doubt to investigate. The sergeant replied, "All right, colonel, go over, and you'll find out, for I've been there," and adds in his memorandum, "he went, and I went down to the rear, you may bet. He went down to Dixie."

The brigade, on being gathered together, was sent to assist a portion of the Second Corps in maintaining its line, but no further engagement in its front took place that evening. About five o'clock on the morning of the 6th, however, the rebels advanced in great masses on

the Second Corps' troops in our front. The first and second lines of battle were made up of Second Corps' troops, and the third line by the brigade of which the 121st Regiment was a part. The fight immediately grew hot; the enemy pressing the Second Corps very closely, and the first line was driven back on to the second, and the two lines on to the third. The three lines of battle blended together and drove the rebels back through the wood, which resounded with the deafening roar; but the tide of battle turned again and again, the ground being fought over and over a number of times, until, towards noon, the Union troops withdrew slowly to a clearing at the crossing of the Brock Road and the Orange Plank Road, where a stand was made, and where one of the liveliest little engagements of the campaign was fought. At this point a line of earthworks had, through somebody's excellent foresight and good management, been thrown up along the road, parallel to and 200 yards from the edge of the wood, the intervening space being cleared ground, offering no protection to the advancing foe. A line of troops occupied these works, and the men of the various regiments who had, during the morning's engagement, become completely mixed together and lost all identity as to regiments and brigades, formed a second line in rear of the works as they arrived from the front. The brigade colors and those of one or two of the regiments of the brigade were flying, and the men clustered around these colors. They had been badly scattered among the troops of the Second Corps during the fight, and a comparatively small portion seeing their colors, the brigade showed but a small front, the balance of the brigade and greater portion forming in another part of the field, the two portions remaining separated until the following morning. No time was lost in completing even a temporary formation, and the men lay on the ground awaiting developments. Very soon the enemy appeared at the edge of the wood, and advanced across the open space in front of the works under a galling fire that sent many a brave fellow to Mother Earth before half the space was covered. Nevertheless, they made a determined effort to secure the works, and partially succeeded in doing so and retaining them for a short time.

A few yards to the right, at the cross-roads, two small pieces of artillery played great havoc with the rebels as they advanced, and were worked with such ability that the enemy at that point were kept back; but further to the left they were more successful, and fairly got on and into the works, planting their colors and fighting the men in the works. At this stage the line was ordered forward and into the works, and the Confederates, after showing a disposition to hold what they had gained, were compelled in short order to relinquish them and fall back, our

men following to within a few paces of the wood in which the enemy sought cover.

Thus ended the fighting at this point for the day. The dead of both rebel and Union soldiers lay thick in the works where they fell; and the ferocity with which the enemy strove to get possession was an indication of the importance of the position. General Wadsworth, commanding the division, was killed near the right of the regiment early in the day.

Our men rested at the cross-roads for the balance of the day, receiving a fresh supply of ammunition, and next morning they rejoined the balance of the brigade, resting until evening, when the brigade, now under command Colonel E. S. Bragg, started for Laurel Hill on an all-night march that was exceedingly tiresome and fatiguing to the men.

The following account of this engagement at the cross-roads is taken from "Stine's History of the Army of the Potomac:"—

"General (then Colonel) E. S. Osborne, of Wadsworth's staff, took as many of the troops as he could rally to the left of the Brock Road, and from there to the intersection of the Orange Plank and Brock Roads. At this time the latter road was full of troops of the Second, Fifth and Ninth Corps. The confusion was so great that Osborne had considerable difficulty in holding the regiments of Roy Stone's brigade at that point. Having restored order, Osborne moved the troops along the plank road a short distance, then filed into the woods and stacked arms, and then found he had the brigade headquarter's colors, and the colors of the 121st, 142d, 143d, 149th and 150th Pennsylvania Regiments, with small detachments of each regiment. On looking at the officers, Osborne found that Lieutenant-Colonel John Irvin, of the 149th, was the ranking officer present. Therefore, Osborne and Irvin, after consulting, decided to let the men rest and make coffee, as the battle was liable to be renewed at any moment. Osborne then placed the headquarter's flag near the Orange Plank Road, so it could be seen from the crossing, and advised Lieutenant-Colonel Irvin to take command of the brigade. General Rice, commanding the Second Brigade of Wadsworth's division, had been detailed on special duty by Hancock, and Colonel Hofmann, of the 56th Pennsylvania, was put in command of the brigade by Rice. Hofmann at once proceeded to form the troops of that brigade back on the Brock Road near the remnant of Roy Stone's brigade. When Hancock gave the order for these two brigades of the old First Corps to charge the works which had been held by the Second Corps, and were then occupied by the Confederates, these two brigades advanced together and retook them. Hofmann displayed great coolness and gallantry in this charge, and well earned the rank of major-general for his heroic conduct. The

brigade under Cutler had been forced back in the direction of the Lacy House early in the day, and was rallied by Cutler near the old Wilderness Tavern, and did not participate in the subsequent charges of the division that day. There were two pieces of artillery near the crossing, and shortly after coffee had been taken this section of the artillery opened on the enemy, and there was considerable commotion near one of the guns. While waiting for results Osborne saw two officers riding toward him from the crossing. They both came up at once, when Osborne saw they were Hancock and Captain Wilson of his staff. General Hancock said, in a sharp tone of voice: 'What troops are these?' Osborne answered: 'They are what is left of the old First Corps.' He then remarked: 'Those are just the troops I want. Take them up there and drive the enemy out of our works.' Colonel Irvin and Captain William M. Dalgleish then came up, and the order was repeated to them by Captain Wilson; then Hancock and Wilson rode away. Osborne and Irvin got the troops in line, and, at a double-quick, went to the cross-roads, leaving the gun at the road. The enemy had driven the troops of the Second Corps out of the works, and were using them as shelter against our attack. The command moved on the right into line, and with Hofmann's brigade charged the works that had been abandoned by the Second Corps, and drove the enemy from them. This was one of the most brilliant exploits that was performed during the war. Again had the soldiers of the old First Corps added another wreath of fame to their accumulated laurels. The credit of that work was assumed by others, who, an officer in high repute says, "were not in the engagement at the supreme moment at all."

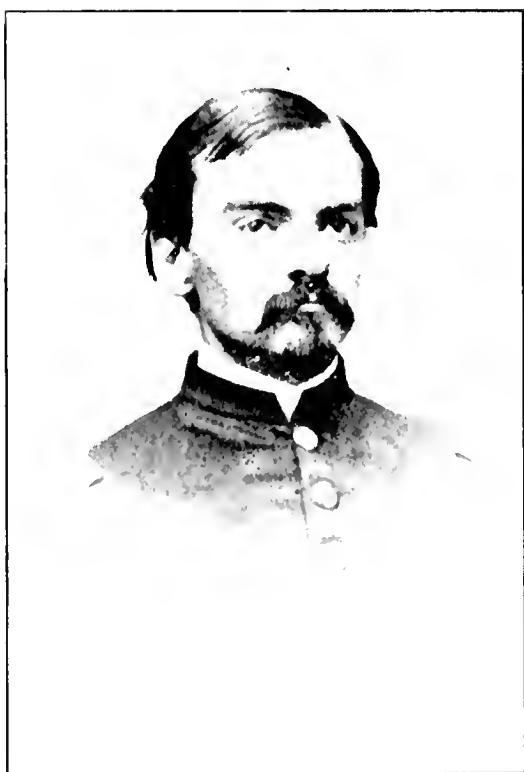
"There were many acts of valor performed on the part of officers and men that placed them high on the roll of honor that day. Captain Bell, of the 150th Pennsylvania, was killed while on the works defending the flag of his regiment. Captain P. DeLacy, of the 143d Pennsylvania, captured a Confederate battle-flag."

There must be a mistake in the statement that the colors of the 121st Penna. Vols. were among those of other regiments collected at this point. The colors were with that portion of the regiment that had been separated and collected in another part of the field.

Spottsylvania.

On the morning of the 8th, after passing Todd's Tavern, the brigade advanced in line and joined in the battle of Spottsylvania, at a point called Laurel Hill, and were engaged in various portions of the field from noon until evening. During a lull in the engagement, a little trick of the enemy was nicely foiled through the enterprise of one of our staff officers. A line of skirmishers lay a few yards in front, and although they kept up a dragging fire in the direction of the enemy, it was difficult to see just what they were firing at or for, there being apparently nothing to be gained just at that time by their maintaining their fire. This excited some remark among the men and officers, as well as a curiosity to know to what regiment or brigade these skirmishers belonged, and one of the staff officers proposed to investigate. Riding out towards them, he soon discovered they were rebels who were keeping up a deception by firing towards their own men, making it appear they were our men; but the way they "dusted" when found out was remarkable, and the peppering they received before getting out of range was certainly uncomfortable. During the afternoon the regiment maintained its position against an advance of the enemy and lost heavily.

On the night of the 8th, and during day and night of the 9th, the regiment was employed at various points erecting earthworks, and shifting from point to point to meet various emergencies; and on the 10th relieved Colonel Lyle's men and engaged the enemy for three hours, during which time the brave Captain Dorr was killed while temporarily in command of the regiment. General Rice was also killed at this point, almost in front of the regiment. Subsequently the division formed *en masse* to charge the rebel works, the Third Brigade being in the second line, but, before starting in, the charge was abandoned. The brigade was then shifted off to the left to support a portion of the Second Corps. After lying in the works all night and next day, the night of the 11th was spent in building earthworks. On the 12th, most of the regiment was on the skirmish line, and succeeded in bringing on an engagement that lasted about two hours. The men were then drawn back to the works, and, under a heavy musketry fire, hurried off to the support of the Second Corps, where



CAPTAIN WILLIAM WHITE DORR.

the rebel works had been carried in the morning. Here they lay, near the rebel lines, all night, under heavy rains in the sappling timber, and kept very close to the wet ground, to save their heads from rebel bullets. Early in the day the regiment returned to Laurel Hill under a heavy artillery-fire. At daybreak on the 13th it was discovered that the rebs were abandoning the works in front, when some of our men went over the works and met a fearful sight, the result of the fight of the Second Corps on the day before. The rebel dead and wounded lay behind the works three and four deep. The dead lay on top of the wounded so they could not move. An oak tree about eighteen inches thick had been so cut up with minie balls that it had toppled over and lay on the ground. At this point, and in fact anywhere in the locality of Laurel Hill or Spottsylvania at this time, the stench arising from the unburied dead was terribly sickening. After some skirmishing at dark, the line moved out and marched all night for Spottsylvania, halting on the morning of the 14th, after a severe all-night march in the rain and mud, the mud being of the consistency of New Orleans molasses and several inches deep.

During the 14th, 15th and part of the 16th, the regiment lay around Spottsylvania, sometimes in one position, then in another, usually assuming a defensive position behind earthworks, but not engaging in any conflict, the opposing forces seeming to be satisfied for the time in watching and feeling each other. On the 16th it moved further to the left and built more works, and quietly lay in line of battle until the 20th.

This was one of the most tiresome marches of the campaign. The rain poured and the night was black. The roads leading through the forest, which had heretofore been covered several inches deep with pulverized dust, were now covered with an assortment of mud, ranging from the choicest thick Virginia mud to the thinnest specimen, according to the elevation or depression of the road. Progress was so slow and the men were so fatigued that many wandered off from the ranks and fell asleep in the woods; and in fact many in the ranks fell asleep while slowly wending their way through the Wilderness; and before reaching their destination at daylight but a handful of men were left in the ranks. Like magic, however, as soon as the brigade flag came to a halt the men began clustering around it, and probably within a half hour every man in the brigade was at his post.

North Anna.

May 21st, it left Spottsylvania and marched to Guiney Station, about 10 miles, where a halt was made for the night, with orders to keep very quiet, as it was stated our line had got between two rebel corps, and on the 22d continued on to Bull's Church. On its way to Bull's Church, after submitting to a little annoyance in the way of shelling by the rebs, the regiment was sent forward to ascertain what was ahead of our column. It was found to be a light battery in the edge of a wood, which left on short notice as the regiment came up over a hill. A couple of Johnnies who were captured reported we were close on to the rear of one of the rebel corps.

On the 23d, the enemy were engaged in a lively tilt at Jericho Ford, on the North Anna River. On this march the regiment was detailed as flankers on the left of the brigade, crossing the North Anna in the afternoon. After crossing the river, the men prepared for a rest for the balance of the day and night, and were busy cooking their coffee when they were abruptly ordered into line of battle, and moved forward for about a quarter of a mile, striking the rebs, who were secreted in the edge of a thick wood, and drawing from them an uncomfortably brisk fire. In this our men were worsted, and fell back to the crest of the hill near the river-bank, where, assisted by a battery of artillery, the line was maintained, and the rebs, who had followed up their advantage, were compelled to withdraw. The fight on the hills near the river-bank was hotly contested by both sides, and the enemy finally completely routed and sent flying to the woods for shelter. General Cutler, commanding the division, complimented the brigade on the stand it made on this occasion. During the scrimmage, a small portion of the men became separated from the regiment, and, of their own accord, assumed position as skirmishers, and advanced to within a few feet of the enemy's position, where they remained all night. Here they could hear the conversation carried on by the rebs, and the orders given by their officers. A staff officer visited them during the night and ordered Sergeant Dempsey to take charge and remain there until he received orders to come in. No orders came until late next day, by which time poor Dempsey and his comrades were nearly starved,

having had nothing to eat since noon of the day before, when they had feasted on fried hard-tack and coffee.

On the 24th, the line was advanced to the woods again, and earthworks thrown up. On the 25th, the brigade moved to the left, and the regiment was sent forward as skirmishers, where it remained from 8 A. M., until midnight before being relieved. This was a very lively skirmish in the woods, the men having to replenish their stock of ammunition in order to keep up their fire, and the regiment losing heavily in wounded, John Iungerich, the adjutant of the regiment, being among the number. He died about a month later.

Totopotomay.

On the night of the 26th, the regiment recrossed the North Anna River and marched to Hanover Court-House, crossing the Pamunkey River on the 28th, and threw up earthworks. On the 29th it moved to near Bethesda Church, and formed in line of battle. On the 30th, proceeded by the New Castle Road through the woods, and threw up earthworks and rested for the night, the troops on both flanks being hotly engaged. May 31st, regiment was on the skirmish line until noon, when it was relieved by the 16th Michigan.

Bethesda Church.

On the 1st of June, it proceeded by the Mechanicsville Road to Bethesda Church, when the regiment was formed in line of battle, and advanced into the woods under a heavy fire from the rebel batteries, halting at the line of the enemy's skirmish-pits; after night it advanced probably one hundred and fifty yards nearer the rebel lines, clearing the edge of the woods, and into the fields beyond, where it quietly threw up earthworks, in which it remained until the 6th. During

these five days, although no infantry became actively engaged, the opposing forces kept up a continual fire, and every few minutes saw the loss of a man. The artillery leisurely pegged away at the rebel sharpshooters, and they in turn brought down many an artilleryman. Young Clymer, the color-bearer of the regiment, was shot near one of these guns, on the 2d of June, a solid shot, no doubt intended for the gun, tearing away a great chunk of flesh from his leg, and the poor fellow died soon after being sent to the hospital. Clymer was a mere lad, apparently about nineteen years of age. Comrade James Pearce, was also killed at this point, and the corporal in charge of the gun placed in the works in the midst of the regiment seemed to court death by declining to take advantage of the cover of the works, even when unemployed. The sharpshooters, who were located in a barn a short distance in front, had at first been able to pick off quite a number of our men. The corporal turned his gun on the barn, and asked for orders, which were finally granted. His first shell exploded in the barn, setting fire to it, and driving out the sharpshooters. This brave man was killed by a solid shot which took off his leg while he was working his gun.

Cold Harbor.

June 6th, the regiment march to Cold Harbor, and on this day was placed in the First Brigade, First Division, Fifth Corps, under the command of Colonel J. L. Chamberlain, of the First Maine Infantry.

June 7th, moved at 4 A. M., and threw up works near Chickahominy River, where it lay until the 12th, when, at dark, it started on an all-night march, crossing the Chickahominy, at Long Bridge, at daylight of the 13th; keeping up the march day and night, and halting at 4 A. M. of June 14th for a rest, then continuing on until it reached the James River, near Harrison's Landing.

June 16th, the men turned out at 3 A. M., and crossed the James River at sunrise on the transport "Exchange;" marched past Prince George Court-House to within three miles of Petersburg, about eighteen miles since morning.

Petersburg.

At sunrise on the 18th the regiment moved a short distance, crossing the Norfolk Railroad, and formed in line of battle; and after remaining under a heavy fire for some time, lying on the ground, moved further to the left and advanced, driving the rebel skirmishers, and halted in a ravine nearly parallel to, and a short distance from, the rebel earthworks. During the advance Colonel Chamberlain, commanding the brigade, was wounded, and was succeeded by Colonel W. S. Tilton. Here the men rested, under the cross-fire from the rebel artillery and infantry, while one of our own batteries, some distance in the rear, intending to fire over the line, dropped several shots in the midst of the regiment, one of which took off the leg of one of the men. This firing from all directions—from friends as well as foes—had a somewhat demoralizing effect; but the brigade occupying this position had to remain and hold it until the line of troops, some eighty yards in the rear, threw up earthworks.

Valuable service, in the way of lessening the enemy's fire, while the line lay in its exposed position, was rendered by two Venango County men, one of whom was private Wm. McKinzie, of Company "A," and the other a sergeant of Company "E," two crack shots, but which cost McKinzie his life. This service is best told in the words of the sergeant, viz.:—

BRADFORD, PA., July 25, 1892.

"DEAR FRIEND:—I remember the 18th of June very well. We charged over the point of the hill into a strip of woods that extended down into another hollow. About the time we came to the woods, Benedick, of our company, was wounded. You will remember by a remark of his, which was, "I now have got a furlough." Colonel Chamberlain, who commanded our brigade, was wounded about the same time. When we got to the top of the little hill, we were received very warmly by the rebs, which caused me to look for a place that would not be quite so hot. Seeing the hollow in front, I made for it; but when I got there it was no better, as the Johnnies had an enfilading fire down the hollow. Finding it too warm for comfort, and thinking the regiment was close by, I made another dash towards the rebs' works, and

succeeded in getting as far as I thought it was safe until the others caught up to me. I had been there but a few moments when Wm. McKinzie, of Company "A," came up to me. After looking the situation over, we concluded to try our luck on the reb gunners, and was succeeding admirably, one of us firing while the other loaded, and had come to the conclusion that we had it all our own way ; but our opponents thought different, and were laying for us ; and when my comrade got up to fire, it being his turn, Mr. Johnny shot him through the head, which made me lay close to the ground afterwards."

On the morning of the 19th the regiment was ordered out after being under severe fire for eighteen hours, forming behind the works, and remaining until the 20th, when it was relieved by troops of the Ninth Army Corps, and moved at dusk one mile to the rear. June 21st it moved again to the front, somewhat to the left of the troops of the Ninth Corps, and threw up entrenchments. Shifting still further to the left on the 8th of July, relieving the 88th Penna. Vols., it took position diagonally across the Jerusalem Plank Road, and remained at this point until July 16th, during which time the men were employed in building "Fort Hell." The line at this point was more or less obscured from the view of the enemy by a wood which skirted and extended a few yards beyond the plank road, and several days elapsed before the rebs seemed to appreciate the fact that a formidable fortress was being erected. Prisoners deserting from the rebel picket line were surprised when they discovered what was going on ; but as the works grew higher and higher and the workers more careless of their own safety, the fact dawned upon them, as was evidenced by the target practice kept up almost continually by the rebel batteries while the work was going on. While details were at work on the fort, the regiment held the line of earthworks along the plank road to the left of the fort, and so were more or less exposed to this fire, and the rebel artillerymen seemed to take particular delight in making the men hustle into the works every now and then. No trouble was experienced from the rebel infantry, as there was maintained a truce from infantry or picket firing, and the men on the opposing picket lines made no effort whatever to shield themselves from danger, but, on the contrary, freely conversed and traded with each other, and at times became quite friendly, often meeting half way between the lines, which were but a few paces apart, in order to accomplish a trade for tobacco, coffee or hard-tack. Through this friendly intercourse between the opposing pickets, a scheme was projected early in July by which it was intended that an entire regiment of Confederates was to come into our lines ; but it so happened that it was ordered to another portion of the field just before

the appointed time. Comrade Lewis Clapper, of Company "C," was an active agent in bringing about this intended desertion. He it was who carried the communications between our officers and the rebels on picket, and his efforts surely deserved better results. It was supposed at the time that some of the Confederates allowed the secret to get out, and thus brought about the removal of the regiment to another locality.

While the men on picket were comparatively safe, it was not so with those resting behind the earthworks. Although tents were erected, fires built and dinners cooked just the same as if the camp had been miles away from any hostile force, it was never known just when a rebel shell might drop in the midst of the camp, and the slight earthworks, four or five feet high along the established line, were not much protection to those moving around twenty or thirty yards in the rear of these works, which was the case almost always with most of the men. In fact, their living was in full view of the enemy, who permitted the men to live thus peacefully, sometimes for many hours, or for an entire day or two at a stretch—long enough to make them careless and induce them to show themselves freely—when suddenly they would open their artillery and bring the Yanks to a proper sense of the situation, knocking the props from under the tents and the kettles from over the fires, and creating a general stampede for the breastworks. On one such occasion a shell knocked the props from under the floor of a tent occupied by several non-commissioned officers of Company "E," who were at the time quietly enjoying their hard-tack and coffee, letting the "non-coms" down very suddenly, and scattering their repast over the ground. The realization of their loss and the damage to their quarters seeming to hamper their usual agility in getting to safe cover. This constant shelling became so annoying, that, in order to get supplies up to the troops, deep-dug roads had to be made, which extended diagonally from the works a safe distance in the rear, and deep enough to hide from the view of the enemy the tops of the army supply wagons in their progress to the front. These dug roads extended all along the rear of the works, intersecting each other at various points, and required an enormous amount of labor to build.

The men soon became accustomed to this way of living, and by constantly keeping several on the watch, no doubt saved many lives. The watchers would station themselves where they would have a good, clear view of the rebel batteries, and the instant a small puff of smoke would rise from a rebel cannon, would cry out in stentorian tones, "get down," the emphasis being on the "down;" and as the ground

all through the camp was full of holes made for the purpose, the men lost no time in getting "down," which they could do in marvellously quick order and usually before the unwelcome missiles could reach them. The Johnnies must have wondered many a time how an entire encampment of Yanks could disappear instantaneously to reappear in a few moments.

During the night of July 17th the line was advanced some ten rods closer to the rebel works, where the men remained enjoying the pleasures of this exceedingly warm summer resort until the 15th of August, losing a man occasionally and recording the capture every now and then of a Johnny, who, taking advantage of the darkness of the night, would escape to our lines. The monotony of this existence was somewhat relieved by the efforts of the Ninth Corps to break through the rebel lines on the morning of July 31st, when they succeeded in blowing up a great mound of sacred soil, and penning up in the "crater" a regiment or two of poor negroes, where they were slaughtered by the rebels. From this time on the artillery kept up a general fusilade along the whole line, and when a man had occasion to get out of his cosy nook he was particularly careful to keep one eye on the handy guns of his neighbors.

One striking feature of the readiness with which all possible means of improving the situation were brought into requisition, was General Grant's railroad, used for bringing up supplies from City Point to the troops at the front. This was truly a "surface" road, and a train running over it would rise and fall with all the various undulations of the country, no effort, whatever, being made at grading, except such as was necessary in some cases to solidify and strengthen the road-bed or cross a stream. The tracks were laid squarely up to the breastworks in the direction of Petersburg; and some of the men rigged up and posted on a high pole at the end of the tracks and against the breastworks, a sign-board bearing a prophecy in the form of the familiar phrase, "to be continued."

Weldon Railroad.

On the 15th of August, being relieved by some troops of the Ninth Corps, the regiment moved a mile to the rear, and went into camp for a quiet, comfortable rest ; but three days after, about 6 o'clock on the morning of the 18th, was marched off in the direction of the Weldon Railroad, driving the enemy's skirmishers. Near Reams Station, while portions of the Second and Third Divisions were hotly engaged, the brigade was deployed along the railroad, and at the word of command, every man took hold of the rail and lifted the track, ties and all, bodily from the road-bed. While the troops on the right rolled the huge ladder in one direction, those on the left rolled it in the opposite direction, forming an immense screw, until finally it was forced to pieces, when the ties were gathered together in piles short distances apart, and the rails laid crossways on top, and fire applied, and the destruction was complete. The rails becoming red-hot in the middle were taken off and bent round and round a telegraph-pole or a tree most convenient, and not a rail was left fit to use again ; after which the men were formed in line on the left of the troops already engaged, and earthworks thrown up to make the position secure.

On the 19th, the regiment, after relieving the 150th Penna. Vols., was engaged on the skirmish line, and remained until 5 P. M., the next day, having a severe tussle with the enemy and capturing thirty-seven rebs and the rebel rifle-pits ; quite a large number of the Pennsylvania Reserves on the right of the regiment being captured.

On the 20th the regiment was relieved by some Maryland troops, and retired to the line of works on the left and slightly in rear of the main line, along the railroad, and near the "Yellow House" where the corps headquarters were, leaving a vacant space of some 150 or 200 yards between the left of the line of troops of the Fourth Division in front and the right of our line in rear, which was thus *en échelon*. Here the rebels made a very resolute charge on the 21st, attempting to force through the opening with several lines of troops massed ; and although subjected to the fire of our troops in the front line, and the vigorous fire of the brigade, placed *en échelon*, besides the lively fire from "Paddy" Hart's battery, placed near the opening, they succeeded

in reaching a point almost in rear of the front line, but could get no further; and as they hesitated, were mercilessly mowed down by musketry and artillery until, almost in a body they threw down their arms and offered to surrender, when the firing ceased.

An unfortunate incident took place at this point that no doubt cost the lives of many brave men. After the offer on the part of these rebels to surrender, an officer rode out to receive them. When within a few feet of their commanding officer, the latter declined to surrender and shot at the Union officer, who returned the fire, both falling at once. A fusillade was begun again as a number of the Johnnies, seeing an opportunity to escape, undertook to run off, but many were quickly brought down and the balance threw down their guns and came into our lines. This was quite an animated engagement, and its result was the effect of a ruse to deceive the enemy, who were located in the woods, and who, in approaching our works, could not have had a clear view of the line *en echelon* until they had reached the point where they no doubt supposed was the extreme left of the line, but which was exactly in front of the First Brigade. The works, while within good rifle range, were still far enough away to be unnoticed until too late to escape. Probably a whole brigade of Confederates were captured at this point.

Subsequent to this affair, during the same day, the regiment was hurried off at a "double quick" to a point about a mile to the left, where the enemy were making an effort to get around that flank, but did not persist on finding Union troops already in position behind breastworks. By this time the men had become so accustomed to throwing up works as soon as a halt was made that one of the natural consequences of a halt was the erection, in a remarkably short space of time, of a line of breastworks.

On August 22d, Lieutenant-Colonel W. A. Throop took command of the brigade. Lieutenant-Colonel Warner, who had recently been promoted from captain of Company "A," returned to the regiment and assumed command thereof September 4th, thus relieving Captain Lang, of Company "F," who had commanded the regiment for several weeks.

The regiment continued in the intrenchments, participating in the various movements of the brigade and in building Fort White, until September 12th, when it went into camp near the "Yellow House," some mile and a half in rear of the line. On the 14th, it was transferred to the Third Brigade, Third Division of the Fifth Corps, Colonel J. W. Hofmann, brigade commander.



COLOR-SERGEANT JAMES BINGHAM GRAHAM.

Poplar Grove Church.

On the 25th of September the regiment moved into the breastworks, where it remained until the 30th, when it moved to Poplar Grove Church, sometimes called Peeble's Farm, and advanced in line of battle, after dark, in support of a portion of the First Division, which was at this time hotly engaged and driving the enemy. After the firing ceased, the men threw up earthworks and lay on their arms, the position of the brigade being on the extreme left of the line, and the 121st and the 142d Regiments being on the left of the brigade. This line extended across a large open field, at the ends of which were thick woods, and on the left and rear a depression in the ground covered by heavy undergrowth that would hide the movement of any force in that direction, but which appears to have been unoccupied by any troops of our own.

The first day of October proved to be a very unfortunate one for the regiment, which deprived it of a large part of its force. As developments subsequently proved, it was not the intention of the corps commander to hold the advanced position any longer than necessary to establish a permanent one some four or five hundred yards further in the rear, and erect earthworks sufficient to protect it from assault; and while on this morning the advanced line was engaging the enemy, and the permanent position was being strengthened, as was afterward reported, word was sent along the line that our troops should fall back as soon as hotly pressed by the enemy. This order, if sent, never reached Lieutenant-Colonel Warner, and it was a surprise to the men to behold the troops on their right relinquishing their ground without, so far as they could see, any plausible reason for so doing. A majority of the regiment—fortunately for them, as it afterwards proved—instinctively took the course, followed by the balance of the division, leaving the lieutenant-colonel, adjutant and seven other commissioned officers and forty-three men, and a few belonging to one or two other regiments, to defend the works, which they evidently felt determined to do to the best of their ability, as was indicated by three rousing cheers from these men when they beheld the works still in their possession while the fields in the rear were covered with troops falling back. This

handful of men settled themselves down to defend their position to the last; but, alas for them, the enemy, instead of contesting the ground from the front, advanced from the woods on their left and rear, and scooped in the whole party, making prisoners of them all, including Lieutenant-Colonel Warner and Adjutant Bates; Lieutenant Bingham, Company "A;" Lieutenant Childs, Company "C;" Lieutenant Harvey, Company "D;" Lieutenant Strong, Company "E;" Captain John McTaggart and Lieutenant Cowpland, Company "I" and Captain Allen, Company "K." These men (those of them who lived long enough) were held in rebel prisons for over four months before being paroled, and were not exchanged in time to rejoin the regiment before the final campaign of the war had wound up. Many of them did not survive their prison lives, and those who did were mostly so much broken down in health as to be unfit for an active campaign when they did return. The regiment—but a small one up to this time—was reduced by this catastrophe to a mere skeleton. What was left of it—consisting of four commissioned officers and eighty-five enlisted men present for duty, joined the brigade behind the works already established in rear of the first position, and there remained, participating in occasional skirmishing, until October 27th, when, under command of Captain Henry H. Herpst, it marched to Hatcher's Run, where it again met and engaged the enemy, capturing a number of prisoners, who proved to be some of Mahone's men; and on the 28th moved forward at 4. A. M., and captured the rebel picket-line, after which it returned to its former camp, where it was engaged for several days in the erection of winter quarters. While at this place news reached the regiment of the death of Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas M. Hall, throwing a gloom over the camp. Lieutenant-Colonel Hall was a great favorite among the men as well as the officers. While particular to observe that their duties were rigidly performed, he was always careful that their wants were attended to, and as a consequence he was highly respected and beloved by the regiment.

Apple-Jack Raid.

December 5th, a force consisting of the Fifth Corps, one division of the Second Corps and a division of cavalry, all under the command of General Warren, started for a raid along the Weldon Railroad, reaching the Jerusalem Plank Road on the 6th, Sussex Court-House on the 7th and on the 8th marching twenty-miles further, crossing Stony Creek to Nottoway River, tearing up the railroad from Jarratt's Station to Belfield, burning the ties and destroying the rails. On the 9th, the force moved in two columns with the supply trains between them, tearing up the rails for about seventeen miles and burning a bridge. On the 10th, the home stretch began with the Johnnies close behind. Hopkinsville and Sussex-Court House were passed and the Nottoway River recrossed at 4 P. M. on the 11th and on the 12th the old camp on the plank road was reached.

During this raid of six days the regiment traveled some eighty miles, participated in destroying everything that could have been of any use to the enemy, including seventeen miles of the Weldon Railroad and an immense amount of property, the only loss being the result of the too formidable advance on the "apple-jack" with which the country abounded, and which stretched out quite a number of our men. A disagreeable rain, hail and snow storm prevailed most of the time during this raid, making the work unusually severe.

December 16th, the regiment was shifted about three miles, where it continued in camp until February 4, 1865, during which time comfortable winter quarters were erected.

On the 22d December, Captain Atlee received his discharge, and was happy. On the 31st the regiment was mustered for pay during a lively snow storm.

January 1, 1865. The new year came in cold and clear, bringing snow on the 3d of January, and a heavy rain on the 10th, overflowing the camp and filling the tents with water. Captain John Chittick, of Company "E," received his discharge for disability from wounds, and Lieutenant W. W. Strong, still in captivity, was promoted to fill the vacancy. January 12th, Captain Zinnell left for home, having received his discharge, and January 16th, Joseph Bastian, Company "G," received his commission as first lieutenant, dating back to December 7, 1864, January 24th, Colonel H. A. Morrow took command of the brigade.

Hatcher's Run.

The unemployed days were passed in discussing rumors of peace, home matters, etc., which were invariably well ventilated in the absence of active and more entertaining employment, the talks of the prospect of winding up the war shortly particularly filling the atmosphere about this time; but finally, on the 5th of February, marching orders were received, and the regiment, under command of Major Funk, moved off to Hatcher's Run, which was crossed and recrossed the same day. Crossing again on the 6th, an advance was made on the enemy posted in the woods near Dabney's Mills.

The fighting continued on the 7th, the Third Division being hotly engaged, and receiving the congratulations of both Generals Warren and Meade. The regiment spent the 8th, 9th and 10th of February on the picket line, returning to camp at 7 P. M. of the 10th, with orders to move at 6 A. M. of the 11th.

On the 11th the brigade, under command of Brigadier-General Hofmann, who had returned on the 10th, left camp early in the day and marched in a southerly direction, crossing the Weldon Railroad. February 12th was very cold and the men exercised themselves in cutting timber for building quarters, this being the third time they had arranged their winter quarters since cold weather set in. February 17th Joseph Davis was mustered in as first lieutenant of Company "H." February 27th was a big day among the boys, the paymaster coming to camp with four months' pay, creating an amazingly happy lot of capitalists and giving the boys plenty to do for the next few days in disposing of their cash; and while it was evident that most of the men sent their entire pay to their homes, it was a fact the sutlers reaped a rich harvest in their settlements with those who had made a practice of patronizing them.

A grand review of the Fifth Corps was held on the 7th of March, which demonstrated that the old Fifth was still in good fighting trim and could make a good showing on close inspection. General Hofmann had left for home on the 6th, leaving the brigade in command of Lieutenant-Colonel J. T. Jack, who was succeeded on the 9th by Colonel C. W. Tilden, of the 16th Maine.

On the 13th of March the news reached camp of General Sheridan's success in the Shenandoah Valley, and the men were highly elated over the good news, and cheer after cheer went up as an expression of their satisfaction. The corps was again reviewed on the 14th and also on the 16th, there apparently being a determination that there should be no mistake about the condition of the Fifth Corps, which was evidently receiving a special training for some anticipated heavy work that required plenty of muscle and wind and good marching qualifications that were soon to be tested.

On the 15th of March Colonel Dick Coulter took command of the brigade, and that meant if any stiff work was to be done the brigade was in for it.

On the 23d of March the camp was visited by a heavy wind storm that lasted fully two hours, wrecking tents, blowing down the chimneys of the huts, etc., and creating quite a destruction, during which a fire broke out in the camp of the 142d Penna. Vols., alongside and extended to our quarters. Before it could be got under control many were rendered homeless; but a still worse calamity was in store for the brigade, for on the 25th the rebels attacked the Union lines, and so far succeeded as to get possession for awhile of one of the forts, but the men, rallying, drove them out. After this a hurried review of the corps was made by President Lincoln and General Meade, while the Sixth Corps was being engaged by the enemy. The march to and from this review, and some considerable movements in light marching order, returning to camp twice during the day, covered some twenty-five miles in the aggregate.

Boydton Plank Road.

The regiment, now under command of Major Funk, rested until the 29th (Sheridan's cavalry arriving on the 27th), and then broke camp at 2 o'clock A. M., traveling over familiar roads, crossing the Rowanta Creek about 10 A. M., skirmishing the most of the latter portion of the day, which was continued on the 30th, when the division secured possession of the Boydton Plank Road, where a sharp fight took place on the 31st.

Five Forks.

April 1st, with Sheridan's cavalry in the advance, the march was continued, over very muddy roads, through Dinwiddie County, moving towards the South Side Railroad (now the Norfolk and Western), progress being somewhat retarded by barricades and various obstacles that had been placed in the way by the rebels. Finally, coming up with the enemy, the corps was formed in columns of four lines of battle, and was ordered forward, finding the Johnnies very shortly and engaging in quite a lively tussle with both General Warren and General Sheridan in the lead. The Confederates were routed, leaving to take care of themselves six cannon, a lot of wagons and several thousand prisoners. After this little scrimmage the march was continued, and when a halt was ordered the regiment was sent out to picket for the balance of the day and night, during which time the artillery kept up the fight, their incessant firing during the whole night keeping all hands on the alert.

Appomattox Court-House.

April 2d news was received of the fall of Petersburg—the welcome news lending extra strength to the lungs of the men as they cheered General Sheridan passing along the line. The cavalry again taking the lead, the march was resumed, and the South Side Railroad crossed some fifteen miles west of Petersburg; then taking the road to the north the column struck off to the left, the Confederates leading off at a rapid pace and evidently in a fearfully demoralized condition, as was demonstrated by the trophies continually falling into our possession, representing cavalry, infantry, commissary department, pack mules, etc., when at dark the skirmishers again came up with the rear guard of the flying rebs, and after a slight skirmish rested for the night. Continuing the march on the 3d, the enemy was closely followed up, no opportunity for rest being allotted the unhappy rebs. The road was strewn with wagons, caissons, ammunition, dead mules, etc., and prisoners were constantly being captured and sent to the rear.

Starting again on the morning of the 4th, before breakfast, the race was kept up on a road leading to Amelia Court-House, until about 11 o'clock, when a halt of a half-hour was allowed the men to get breakfast, after which the road was again taken, and some twenty-two miles in all covered before halting for the night. Rebel prisoners reported the utter inability of General Lee to keep his army together, demoralization seeming to have taken full possession.

April 5th finds the division on the line of the Richmond and Danville Railroad, with the enemy close at hand. Scouts reported that there were two corps of the rebel army that had been cut off from their main body and that they would be compelled to pass this point on their way to Lynchburg, which place it was understood was their destination. The pickets and cavalry were now far in advance of the infantry force, doing great work. The cavalry captured a portion of the enemy's supply train and six pieces of artillery. Captured rebel flags also appeared among the troops, the cavalry carrying them at the head of their columns. Some 27,000 Confederates were now reported in front, the troops present to confront them consisting of

the Fifth Corps, two divisions of the Second Corps, one division of the Sixth Corps, and the Twenty-fourth Corps, besides four divisions of cavalry. The cavalry were finally driven in. After considerable fighting and manœuvring, the enemy moved off, having lost in the contest five stands of colors, some guns, three field officers and any number of prisoners and contrabands coming into our lines in swarms.

April 6th, at about 7.30 A. M., the troops are again put in motion, in three columns, passing through Jettersville to the vicinity of Appomattox River, the Second Corps and cavalry catching it for getting into close quarters with the rebs, and a sharp fight ensued. The beautiful country and fine farms now beheld were in striking contrast with what had all along been the experience in Virginia. The pretty hills over which the line of march passed, afforded splendid views for miles around, and the prospect, together with the great quantities of bacon, corn meal, poultry, etc., that continually fell into the hands of the men seemed to indicate anything but the starvation among the rebs, of which we had heard so much. This day several general officers fell into the hands of our troops, besides some fourteen pieces of artillery, a hundred wagons, and thousands of prisoners, and it was currently reported and believed that the North Carolina men were going home. Twenty-three miles were covered in this day's march. The advance on the 7th was somewhat delayed, owing to a bridge having been destroyed, but by 7 A. M. the march was resumed, the skirmishers ahead being continually engaged, until, some eighteen miles from the starting-point, the line halted about a half-mile from Prince Edward, where a tannery was in process of destruction. April 8th the column marched sixteen miles, starting at 7.30 A. M., and taking the Lynchburg Road, passing Hampden and Sidney College. Negroes along the route reported that the rebs had been passing for eight or nine days. Contrabands, as they came in, in great numbers, fell in and marched with the troops. Suddenly, about 6 P. M., the marching having considerably slackened up, cannonading opened in front and continued during the evening. On this march, four trains of cars loaded with supplies and a large number of train wagons, also several pieces of artillery, and about one thousand prisoners, fell into the hands of our troops.

April 9th, the march was resumed at 7 o'clock, the men in high spirits and apparently conscious of the fact that the Confederates were on their last legs, although fighting with desperation against fate; the skirmishers keeping busy following closely up to the rear-guard of the rebel army, or what was left of it, pegging away and giving them no chance for rest, while the artillery managed to keep close up to the

front and put in a shot at every opportunity. It was, and had been for some days, a running fight, with the advantage all on one side; though now and then a stand of considerable obstinacy would be made by the rebs, seemingly to remind the Yanks they had better not be too precipitate and that they had considerable fight in them yet. During this latter move, a complete wagon train of supplies was cut off from the enemy, and a whole brigade, glad no doubt, of the opportunity, and seeing the absolute absurdity of continuing such a condition of things, surrendered. Finally, as the lines were concentrated, the men found themselves within 300 yards of the rebel lines, but to the delight of the troops a flag of truce was seen, and hostilities were discontinued, the last cannon fired by the rebs bursting at the breech.

At twenty minutes to four o'clock, information was received that General Lee had surrendered.

The order was read to the troops stating the conditions of the surrender and the disposition of the prisoners. The joy that pervaded the ranks of the completely tired out veteran patriots knew no bounds. The demonstrations of gladness among the Union troops were really inspiring. The full, round Yankee cheer resounded over the field, and hats, clothing, boots, anything that could be laid hold of, were sent flying through the air, that at times was almost black with these missiles. These demonstrations although of gladness, were far from those of exultation over a fallen foe, and it appeared to be the universal feeling among the men that their late enemies should not feel the humility of defeat so far as they could prevent it. As opportunity occurred the men in blue mingled with those in gray in friendly intercourse, and good-natured dialogues were indulged in. Our men shared their rations and willingly and anxiously gave up little trifles that would contribute to the comfort of Johnny Reb,* and it was evident that many of the men, than whom no soldiers ever fought harder, or with more desperation while there was a particle of

* Colonel Aylett, formerly of Pickett's Division, in his address at Gettysburg, May 2, 1888, described how, "after the battle of Five Forks, when Pickett's Division was a part of the rear-guard of Lee's army, marching and fighting for six days' on parched corn, they would have died from starvation, after their capture at Saylor's Creek, if the Boys in Blue had not shared their haversacks with them until General Grant issued them rations; that the union of the Blue and Gray began then, and that these kind acts were a victory over their hearts more enduring than that of war—it softened more than lead and steel. It was the voice of a common blood and ancestry speaking in the midst of the battle-smoke and roar of cannon, and the Boys in Gray have not forgotten it."

chance for success, were really glad that at last their fruitless labor was over and they would soon be home again with their families. They never, however, faltered in their expressions of love for General Lee.

The troops remained in camp around Appomattox Court-House until the 12th, the regiment having been detailed to guard the village during the 11th.

On the 12th, the men packed up for a march to Burkville, escorting the supply trains and captured property. No one would have recognized the regiment on this march, not even the men themselves. Every man, many of whom had never handled a rein or straddled a horse, was driving some broken-down conveyance or riding a mule ; and such mules ! veritable frames, nearly starved, but good naturedly jogging along, hoping for a better time to come. These mules had had no food for some four or five days, except just what kept them alive, and for their benefit considerable foraging was done on this march, which continued some twenty miles. During the night the rain poured in torrents. The march was continued next day for eleven miles, passing Prince Edward Court-House at dark, and on the 14th to Farmville, some six miles further. Leaving Farmville at 6.30 A. M. on the 15th, the march was continued seventeen miles through the rain and over muddy roads, the mules giving out and laying all along the road.

On the 16th of April, Easter Sunday, and a beautiful morning, a number of the officers who had been captured by the rebels at Poplar Grove Church, on the 1st of October, 1864, rejoined the regiment, having been recently exchanged. On the 17th the news of the assassination of President Lincoln reached the camp and threw consternation and dismay among the troops. They did not know what the next news might be, and were prepared for almost anything, no matter how desperate, while their sorrow for the lamented President was universal.

The march was resumed on the 20th, when the regiment rejoined the division, and was ordered to City Point ; consequently the boys were in excellent good humor and correspondingly thankful at the prospect of soon getting back to civilization. The regiment boarded a train and began to feel quite comfortable, and to anticipate the enjoyment of home comforts, when lo ! it was ordered off the train, spirits down correspondingly. Comrade Harry Weaver, of Company " A," was struck by lightning during this manœuvre.

April 21st the regiment moved to Millville, in the vicinity of which place it remained until May 2d, when it started for Petersburg, making about twenty-one miles, and continued twenty miles further, reaching and passing through Petersburg May 3d. While passing

through the town, General Warren stood at the corner of a street looking at the troops, who, catching sight of him, greeted him with rousing cheers. May 4th Lieutenant-Colonel Jas. S. Warner returned to the regiment and assumed command. Leaving Petersburg at 6.30 A. M. of the 4th, the regiment moved to Manchester. Men and boys, women and girls, black and white, swarmed among the troops, selling pies, cakes, milk, etc. It left Manchester on the morning of the 7th, passing Hanover Court-House, on the Fredericksburg and Richmond Road. This was a good road and a fine day and all the colored folk of the county seemed to turn out to greet the soldiers. As plantations were passed, the darkies came out in great crowds in their holiday attire, singing their joyful songs, clapping their hands, the women waving their aprons, and in many cases following the line of troops for long distances, behaving as though they fully appreciated that their deliverance had come through the efforts of the hardy men from the north, now wending their way homeward. After marching about twelve miles and crossing the Pamunkey River, a halt for the night was made. Starting again on the morning of the 8th, and keeping along the Bowling Green Road, crossing the Polecat Creek and passing Polecat Station, reached Milford about 5 P. M., and crossed the Mattaponi River, making about eighteen miles before stopping for the night, many men being overcome by the heat on this march.

May 9th the line moved again at 6 A. M., passing through Bowling Green and the old battle-ground of December, 1862, and crossed the Rappahanock River at 7 P. M., marching twenty-three miles, and passing on the route many ex-rebel officers and soldiers still wearing their gray uniforms.

The regiment marched twenty-three miles on the 11th through a heavy rain and thunder storm, and spent a cold, wet night. On the 12th it passed Fairfax Court-House and covered eighteen miles, halting within some six miles of Washington, the dome of the Capitol being in sight. This made the boys feel as if they were at length getting somewhere near their own ground again.

On the 13th of May the brigade, now commanded by Col. A. R. Root, went into camp about four miles from Washington. Salutes from all the forts were being fired during the day.

The 14th and 15th were spent receiving visitors from Washington, and on the 16th the old camp duties were resumed, dress parade, guard mount, police duty, etc., being performed daily.

A grand review of all the troops took place May 23d, when Washington was crowded, President Johnson and General Grant being present, and the streets of Washington being filled by the populace.

On the 30th of May our sister regiment, the 142d Penna. Vols., started for home, and hearty cheers were exchanged at the parting.

On the 2d of June the 121st Regiment was mustered out of the service of the United States, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and that night the men illuminated the camp and held a torchlight procession. Starting for home at daylight on the 3d of June, the regiment arrived at Philadelphia, our good, faithful, old City of Brotherly Love, on the 4th, and went to the Cooper Shop Refreshment Saloon for a lunch.

During the march down Washington avenue to the refreshment saloon, the regiment received quite an ovation from the citizens of the southern portion of the city. Some of the men on being recognized by their friends were seized and pulled from the ranks, and immediately surrounded and pressed with all sorts of questions, scarcely any of which could be answered they were plied so rapidly. Here was remarked the striking contrast between the size of the regiment returning and its size when it marched to the same railroad depot nearly three years before, and the joy prompted by the safe return of the survivors was manifestly impaired by the recollection that so many did not return.

After partaking of the dinner it had been waiting for, since September, 1862, and which was indeed a royal repast, the regiment proceeded to Camp "Cadwallader," in the northern part of the city.

On the 5th of June it participated in the farewell review by General Meade, under a pouring rain, and on returning to camp on the same day turned in all the Government property and disbanded. The men returned to their homes and resumed the peaceful callings in which so many have since become prominent.



GETTYSBURG BATTLEFIELD MONUMENT.
Standing at the point occupied by the Regiment July 1, 1863.

Dedication

of the

Gettysburg Battle-field Monuments

by the

Survivors' Association.

After a lapse of years the survivors in the vicinity of Philadelphia came together again and organized a survivors' association, in order to keep warm and fresh the old friendships formed during the service. A similar association exists in the western part of our State of the survivors from Venango County. These two associations, or rather two branches of the one association, met at Gettysburg in September, 1889, and joined in the dedication of the Battle-Field Monument. This monument had been furnished by the State of Pennsylvania, in accordance with an Act of the Legislature, at a cost of \$1,500, and is of beautiful design. It stands 11½ feet high from the base, built of Quincy granite, with the First Corps badge and inscription cut from the polished surface; soldiers' accoutrements in bronze, in front; knapsack, with blanket neatly rolled and strapped, on the top, and the American flag cut from the stone, gracefully covering a portion of the monument. The dedication was an enjoyable affair, and brought together more of the survivors than any occasion since their discharge from the service, and in all probability more than will ever be brought together again. This monument marks the position held by the regiment on the morning of the memorable first day of July, 1863, and bears the following inscriptions:—

On front of monument facing west:—

121st Pennsylvania Infantry,
 July 1, 1863,
 Occupied this position, the extreme left of the
 Union line,
 July 2d and 3d, on Cemetery Ridge.
 Present at Gettysburg, . . . 11 officers, 295 men.
 Killed and died of wounds, . . . 20 men.
 Wounded, 5 officers, 93 men.
 Captured and missing, . . . 1 officer, 60 men.
 First Brigade, Third Division, First Corps.

North side of monument:—

Recruited in Philadelphia and Venango Counties.
 Mustered in September 1, 1862.
 Mustered out June 2, 1865.

South side of monument:—

From Fredericksburg to Appomattox.

The following address was delivered by Captain Joseph G. Rosen-garten at the dedication of this monument:—

Officers and Soldiers of the 121st.

COMRADES AND FRIENDS:—We are met together to-day, at the invitation of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, to renew the memories of that great battle fought here in 1863. We stand again at the spot made memorable by the gallant resistance of the 121st to overwhelming numbers. A modest monument marks the point on which the 121st, together with the other regiments with which it was brigaded, under its own commander, Colonel Chapman Biddle, bravely awaited the onset. Led by Major Alexander Biddle, the regiment was worthy of its leaders, and to-day, after the lapse of long years, a little band of survivors gather here to join their comrades of other Pennsylvania regiments in commemorating the deeds and the men of that day. Fortunately, we have the story as it was told with characteristic modesty by those two gallant soldiers, and their words will recall to you the events of the battle.

Colonel Chapman Biddle, in his address before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, on March 8, 1880, said: "The First Brigade, of Doubleday's division, was under my command, and consisted of the 121st, 142d and 151st Penna. and the 20th N. Y. S. M.; Cooper's Battery, 1st Penna. Artillery, had on the morning of the 1st, been attached to the brigade. On that morning, as soon as the pickets of the 121st could be withdrawn, the infantry and artillery were marched from the cross-roads at Ross White's, which lies between Marsh and Middle Creeks, along the Nunemaker Mill Road to Gettysburg, a distance of about seven miles. When within a mile of the town, the sound of heavy firing to the northwest indicated that a sharp engagement was already in progress. The brigade was in consequence rapidly pushed across the fields to open ground, a short distance north of the Hagerstown Road, and about a third of a mile west of the seminary, and there formed, a little before 11 A. M., on the extreme left of the general line of battle. The battery was immediately placed in position, and its fire directed towards the northwest, to the left of the woods in which the First Division was then engaged. Upwards of three-quarters of a mile in front were woods nearly parallel with the line of battle, and between, somewhat to the left, a house and large stone barn, the latter of which was afterwards used as a cover for the enemy's sharpshooters. To protect the battery from the annoyance which the sharpshooters occasioned, a company of sharpshooters was sent from the 20th N. Y., who, readily driving the men off, occupied

their shelter. Later in the day, towards 3 P. M., Pettigrew's brigade of North Carolina troops, Heth's division, Hill's corps, advancing in two lines and in perfect order, commenced a vigorous attack on the extreme left of the Federal line held by the First Brigade. Of the four small regiments composing the brigade, the 151st had been detached about half after two, to be held in reserve, and was posted near the seminary grove until it was sent forward subsequently to occupy the gap between Meredith's and my (Biddle's) brigade. Notwithstanding the great disparity in numbers between the contending forces, and that the left of the Federal line was greatly outflanked, the position was maintained with spirit for a considerable time under a severe direct and oblique fire, and until, being without support, the fragments of the four regiments were compelled to retire, towards 4 P. M., to a partial cover on the edge of the town, close to and west of the seminary, where they continued to resist the progress of the enemy until the batteries and most of the Union troops had withdrawn to Cemetery Hill; then, as the enemy were swarming in on the left, they fell back to the same point, reforming in the rear of its crest. The admirable behavior of the men and officers may to some extent be inferred, for out of 1,287 officers and men who went into action as the First Brigade of the Third Division of the First Corps, 440 were either killed or wounded and 457 missing, leaving as its effective strength at the close of the first day's battle 390 officers and men."

Colonel Alexander Biddle, who commanded the regiment on the 1st of July, in his narrative, tells the story of the 121st on that memorable 1st of July, 1863, and the monument records its losses in holding the extreme left of the Union line. 20 were killed and died of their wounds, 98 were wounded, 61 missing. At no time was there any panic, and the 121st showed throughout steadiness, alacrity and willingness in doing all that was required of them. It is the duty of the survivors to perpetuate and preserve the records of that day. The colonel himself, in command of the brigade, by his example, riding along the line between the two fires, encouraging his men, held them as if spell-bound until all the other troops had abandoned the field, and until the artillery had ample opportunity to withdraw, and even until the enemy, with its overwhelming superiority of numbers, had already overlapped the flanks and were filing around to the rear. In a letter written by him on the 2d of July, he says: "Yesterday we had a sharp engagement with the rebels just outside the town of Gettysburg, which lasted for some hours. The enemy had quite a large force, much greater than ours. Our division was on the extreme left. Being in command of the First Brigade, I was assigned to a

position on the left of all. My force consisted of four regiments, all very small, however. We were opposed by at least eight large regiments, who entirely outflanked us and compelled us to return to the edge of the town, when, getting under some slight cover, we held our ground for some time—long enough to let the troops move into a new position, we retiring with the rest. My horse was shot; I was struck by a round ball on the back of the head, but only slightly wounded. When the horse was struck, he reared and threw me and fell over himself, but, fortunately, fell on the side from me."

Thus modestly and characteristically does Colonel Biddle speak of himself. Of his officers, and especially of Ashworth, Ruth and Sterling, all severely wounded, and of the men, he speaks, but simply as if he and they and all had only done their duty.

The stand made by the 121st at the Lutheran Seminary was, under the circumstances, something worthy of the highest praise. By that time the troops were considerably demoralized, and the bulk of them well on their way to Cemetery Hill. The halt in the woods at the seminary showed the *morale* of the 121st, and a steadiness, after long and exhausting exposure under fire from an overwhelming and outflanking force, that could not be surpassed. The defense of this position, prolonged until the great body of troops had passed to the rear, saved many thousands from capture, and the loss inflicted on the enemy by the 121st while it was thus held at bay must have been very considerable, as the thinning out of their ranks was plainly seen. How the little remnant of the 121st ever got away from there without capture is still hard to explain. After a hard march, exposed at one time to an enfilading fire, afterwards sheltered only by a rough barricade of fence-rails hastily thrown together, what was left of the 121st clung to this defensive line and made it an offensive position until further efforts were useless, and then slowly and in an orderly way moved to its assigned position in the rear at Cemetery Hill. Such is, in brief, the story of the 121st on the 1st of July, 1863, and it well deserves the enduring record made upon the granite shaft that marks its position on the extreme left of the Union line, its heroic defense and its gallant resistance until defense was impossible and resistance at an end. On that monument stands forth the name of Colonel Chapman Biddle, the colonel of the 121st, a man whose heroic courage, noble character, unselfish devotion to duty, and sacrifice in defense of the Union, entitle him to our affection, esteem and lasting gratitude. What manner of man he was is known to you all, yet it may be well to say a word of the stock from which he sprang. It has given to the city of Philadelphia, to the State of Pennsylvania, to the whole country,

many brave soldiers and good citizens, but no better man and braver soldier than Chapman Biddle, the first colonel of the 121st Penna. Vols., the regiment he organized, disciplined, commanded and led to victory here at Gettysburg.

Clement Biddle, the grandfather of Colonel Chapman Biddle, is known in local annals as the Quaker soldier. Descended from early Quaker settlers of New Jersey, he was brought up strictly in the tenets of his sect. In 1744 he headed a company of Quakers to put down the Paxton boys, who were murdering inoffensive Indians. He was a signer of the non-importation agreement of 1765, and when the Revolution was impending, organized a Quaker company of volunteers. In 1777, he was elected deputy quartermaster by Congress. After the battle of Trenton he was sent by Washington to receive the swords of the Hessian officers. He was present at the battles of Princeton, Germantown, Brandywine and Monmouth, and at Valley Forge. He took an active part in the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and was appointed by Washington United States Marshal of Pennsylvania. In 1794, he took part in the suppression of the whiskey insurrection, and died in Philadelphia, July 14, 1814. His son, Clement Caldwell Biddle, was born in Philadelphia in 1784 and died there in 1855. He entered the navy in his youth, resigned and studied law, and in 1807, in anticipation of war with England, entered the army as captain of dragoons. He resigned when peace seemed reassured, but on the outbreak of hostilities, in 1812, he raised the State Fencibles, was elected its captain, and subsequently colonel of the 1st Penna. Infantry.

The war over, he returned to civil life, was a diligent student of economical and financial questions, and was consulted as an authority by the government. Colonel Chapman Biddle inherited from his father and his grandfather the manly virtues that made him a soldier worthy of every honor. What he was in the field, we who served under him can never forget, and the same thorough, conscientious discharge of every duty that distinguished him in the field marked his whole life, so that alike in war and in peace he was an example worthy of the highest praise. Chapman Biddle was born in Philadelphia, January 22, 1822, the youngest son of the late Colonel Clement C. Biddle. Colonel Clement Biddle lived to a ripe old age, managing with marked success the Philadelphia Saving Fund, which owed much to his forethought and watchful care. His sons, George W., now the leader of the Philadelphia bar, the late Dr. John B. Biddle, a distinguished practitioner and teacher of medicine, and Chapman, were all educated at St. Mary's College, Baltimore.

Chapman Biddle had, of course, the advantage of an admirable home and the training that comes with it. He went to the capital school of Dr. Wylie and Dr. Engles, famous for their discipline and their instruction. He was a diligent, painstaking boy, learning easily and maintaining a good record. At fourteen he went to St. Mary's College, where he spent four years full of admirable results, and steadily growing in the eyes of teachers and fellow-pupils. On his return home, he went into the counting-house of his cousin, Clement Biddle Barclay, at whose suggestion Chapman, young as he was, was sent to Montevideo as supercargo. On the long sailing journey he applied himself to the study of Spanish with characteristic perseverance and thoroughness, so that he mastered it sufficiently to make good use of it for his business needs. Always afterwards he kept up his knowledge of the language, and this stood him in good stead in his later professional life and in his journeys abroad, as well as in the pleasant interchange of acquaintance with foreigners visiting here.

On his return to Philadelphia, he carried out his long-cherished purpose and began the study of law in the office of his elder brother, George W. Biddle, Esq. He was admitted to the bar of Philadelphia in 1848. His business training made him a thorough accountant, and his accuracy and painstaking mastery of detail enabled him to apply himself especially to the management of trusts, the disentangling of complicated estates, and the general duties of a counselor, rather than to the more shining branches of the profession. Still, he won the confidence of the bench and the bar, as well as of numerous important clients, by the management of their business, by advising the best method of avoiding litigation, and by persistently making the best use of every possible means to secure a successful result when it was necessary to appeal to a jury or to a court *in banc*.

His arguments were clear and strong, terse and exhaustive, and his mastery of facts and of the law was always complete. His professional career included a term of service as counsel for the Pennsylvania Railroad and for other corporations, and to all his clients his assistance was of the highest value.

The mother of Colonel Chapman Biddle was Mary Searle Barclay, the daughter of John Barclay, Esq., the sixth mayor of Philadelphia, an old merchant, the son of a leading citizen, one of the great merchants of his day. Mrs. Biddle lived to see her sons leaders in their respective professions, and found in them a devoted affection and a loyal trust that comforted her in her widowhood and old age. The Barclays are of that Scotch-Irish stock which has contributed so many

well-known names to every branch of Philadelphia reputation, and the McCalls, the Willings, the Meades, were all their kith and kin. The Biddles are of English origin, and the union of the two races made a strong and notable family. The grandmother of Chapman Biddle was Miss Connell, of Newport, Rhode Island, where that name is still remembered as that of an old family of importance. His name, Chapman, was that of his uncle, Dr. Nathaniel Chapman, one of the great lights of medicine in Philadelphia, and one still borne by his grandson, who has again illustrated many of the qualities that made his ancestor famous.

A cousin of Colonel Biddle is Clement Biddle Barclay, who is so affectionately remembered for his devotion to the interest and comfort of the soldiers in the field; who sacrificed his own ease to bring to them aid and assistance; who brought light and life to many sick and wounded, cared for the dying, and was always ready to succor their families. Thus on all sides, by blood and birth and descent, by training and association, Chapman Biddle was a thorough Philadelphian, true to the traditions of his name, and always ready to do his duty. What he sacrificed in taking up arms and leading a regiment to the front and in the service, is too sacred to be spoken of, and yet it must be borne in mind by all who think of him. Singularly reticent in all matters of personal concern, he was full of sympathy for others, helpful to them in their trials, and ready to give aid and counsel and substantial help. He was absolutely indifferent to that sort of notoriety which is so often mistaken for reputation, and in war and in peace his only standard was that of duty, and from that he never swerved on any point. Chapman Biddle was for many years a member of a military organization commanded by the late Judge John Cadwallader, and when the war broke out he was himself elected captain of a company of artillery, which he brought to a high state of efficiency. He was afterwards empowered to raise a regiment of volunteers for three years' service, and was appointed colonel of the 121st Pennsylvania Volunteers. It was completed by consolidation with the 145th Pennsylvania, and Colonel E. W. Davis of the latter, was made lieutenant-colonel, and Lieutenant-Colonel Alex. Biddle, major. From the day it was mustered in, Colonel Biddle was heartily seconded by Major, afterwards Colonel Alex. Biddle in putting his regiment on a high plane of efficiency and discipline. After a brief stay in camp at Chestnut Hill, the regiment was sent to Washington, and there placed in a provisional brigade under General Casey and General Humphreys in succession, and both the Biddles were complimented by those veteran soldiers for the excellent drill and thorough training of

the 121st. Finally it was assigned a place in Porter's corps, and marched through Maryland to Antietam, where it was assigned to Meade's brigade of Reynolds' division of the Pennsylvania Reserves. It took a distinguished part in the battle of Fredericksburg, and the brilliant success of this, its first engagement—its baptism of fire—secured it a strong place in the good opinion of all the general officers under whom it served in succession. At Gettysburg it bore its part in the heroic struggle of the first day's fight against overwhelming numbers.

Colonel Biddle remained in the field in spite of broken health and against the entreaty and advice of his medical advisers and of his friends, enduring the hardship and exposure of the winter of 1863, until he was finally forced to resign on December 10th, when he returned to Philadelphia and slowly regained his health and strength. He resumed the practice of his profession, but always kept a close watch on his old regiment, and at all times showed an affectionate interest and regard for all who had served with him, generously assisting them and their families, and maintaining a friendly intercourse with them. He was a diligent student of military history, and followed with sympathy the operations of the army of which he had been an active officer. To his exertions is largely due the bronze heroic statute of Reynolds at Gettysburg, the tribute of the First Corps, at whose head he fell at Gettysburg. Equally characteristic of his thoroughness in mastering all the details of military history is his address on "The First Day of the Battle of Gettysburg," delivered on March 8, 1880, before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It is a complete history in itself, and has been praised by very high and competent authority. Of his own distinguished part in the battle he says little, yet it was marked by personal gallantry and rare military ability. For many years his professional occupation at the bar engaged his time and strength. In addition to his large private practice and the management of many important estates, he was for several years the counsel for the Pennsylvania Railroad, until failing health and other pressing duties obliged him to resign that important position. He took a lively interest in the Fairmount Park Art Association, and to his good taste, substantial help and wise counsel, it owes some of its finest art works. His death, at the early age of fifty-nine, was sorely mourned, both by his family, to whom he was tenderly attached, and by his large circle of friends. At his funeral there gathered men of all professions and pursuits, and his old regiment was largely represented. In him the bar lost one of its ablest members, the city one of its most useful citizens, the State a distinguished soldier, the country a tried patriot.

Among the numerous testimonials of regret at his loss, none were more truthful, earnest and heart-felt than that of the survivors of the 121st. It expressed their sense of his merits in these words: "His energy in raising the 121st, his ability to discipline it, his gallantry in leading it in battle, his zeal and endurance in its hard service, have made his reputation as a soldier one that can never be forgotten by his comrades. His military qualities were of a high order of excellence, gaining the confidence of his command and the approval of his general officers. His courage in battle was characteristic of the name he bore, and his patience under physical suffering was heroic in a high degree. His care of his men in the field, on the march, in camp, in battle, in hospital, was incessant and untiring. Even after ill-health forced him to resign, he maintained his interest in them, and he watched over their welfare and their widows and orphans, and long after the regiment was mustered out he was always ready to help its members or their families." The Society of the Army of the Potomac, the First Corps Association, the Historical Society, and many private associations and individuals, joined in expressions of profound sorrow for his death, sympathy for his family, and sense of grief for the loss of such a man. The tie that bound him to the men of his regiment was not severed by his death, for his only son always took his father's place in their regard, and in the short years of his life, prematurely cut off, he was looked on as the successor in their good-will, and he returned it by a friendly interest in all that related to their service under Colonel Biddle. It was he who, on July 2, 1886, made an address at the unveiling of the regimental monument at Gettysburg, which forms part of the record of that day, so full of interest for the 121st. How many are gone who helped to win for it the good opinion of its successive commanders! Who can forget Dorr, that gallant soldier, pure Christian, watchful officer and brave leader? Dear Harry Lambdin, so full of heroism, of energy and of fire, with a spirit only too strong for his frail body; Ashworth, whose whole life was an example worthy of the deepest reverence; Barclay, Iungerich, Sterling, Brickley, all fell in action or died of their wounds, and all merit that affection which is still so warmly cherished for their memory by their comrades. S. P. Jones, Wm. Graham, Wm. Hardy, the Copelands, Herpst, Winkworth, Bingham, Bates, McCoy, Childs, McTaggart, Allen, Barlow, Weikel, Knight, McPherson and Branson were all praised by Colonel Biddle in his official report. Ruth and Pippet and Byers and Raymond are among the officers whose wounds disabled them from service, and their names, too, deserve to be specially recalled at a time when the story of the regiment is once more told to the survivors. How many

of the enlisted men were endeared to us by their merits, known, perhaps, only to those who saw them through the long and trying years of the war! What characteristic bravery was shown by Hazard and James, and by the veteran soldier Scheerer, who after years of good service in the 2d U. S. Artillery, under Bragg and Burnside, Sherman and Reynolds, fell at Fredericksburg! Who can tell the story of each and every one of that long roll of the killed and wounded of the 121st? The record of those who took part in the battle of Gettysburg finds its proper place in this day's proceedings, and each name will recall to some comrade the special qualities of the man who did his share on that day. Time may soften the sorrow of those who lost sons, and brothers, and husbands, but it will still preserve the memory of their good qualities in the hearts of their surviving comrades, and thus heighten our regret that the monument which marks the scene of their last action cannot perpetuate their names on its surface.

The details of the regimental history are now being gathered together, with a view to its due and proper preservation, and each man should do his best to supply material for its full and complete recital. It is only by the details of the part taken by each regiment that the whole story can be completely told. Just as the regimental monuments that now mark the lines of Gettysburg recall its history, so the regimental histories will preserve the record of the part each regiment took in the war. Leaving to others the general record and history of the war for the Union, let us strive to preserve every name and every deed that forms part of our record as a regiment, content in this, as we were in war, to do our duty without fear or favor. What has been said to-day will no doubt become part of the splendid record of the Keystone State; for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania has made of Gettysburg a Mecca to which pious pilgrims will come for inspiration as long as patriotism continues to beat in the heart of every man who fought for the Union, and inspires their children in the future.

The losses of the 121st at Gettysburg were:—

Enlisted men killed.....	12
Officers wounded.....	5
Enlisted men wounded.....	101
Officer captured.....	1
Enlisted men captured.....	60
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Total.....	179

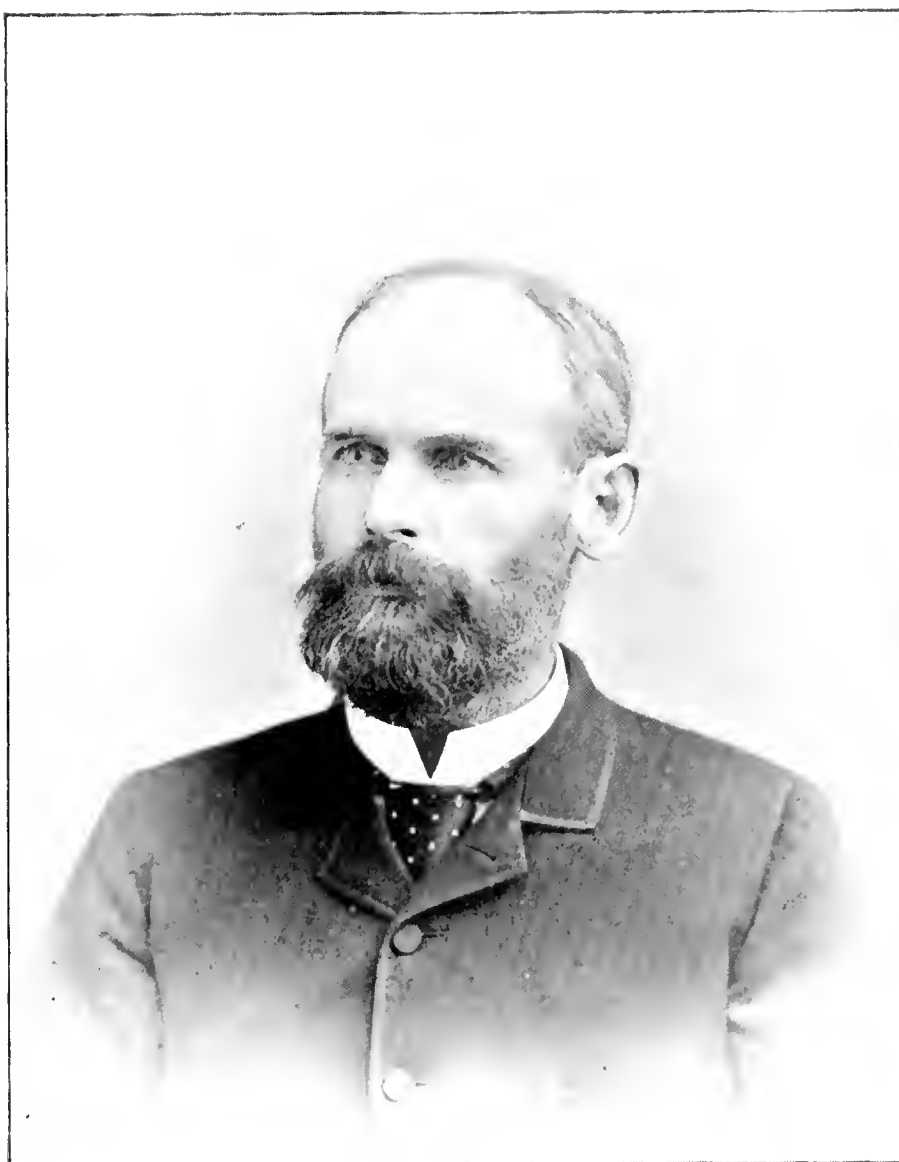
The total losses in the First Brigade were 896.

Colonel Chapman Biddle's report, dated July 2d, says: "The brigade reached the front about 11 A.M. It was pushed forward, and formed in line on the extreme left, facing west. The battery (Cooper's) "B," 1st Penna., was placed in position, and its fire directed towards the northwest, on the left of a piece of woods in which the First Division was then engaged with the enemy. In front of our line, and at the distance of three-fourths of a mile or more, were woods running nearly parallel with it; and between these woods and our line, and towards our left, were a brick house and a large stone barn, the barn affording cover to the enemy's sharpshooters, who were then skirmishing in front of us. A company of skirmishers was sent from the 20th N. Y. for the purpose of protecting the battery. The position of the brigade was varied two or three times in order to shelter the men from the heavy artillery fire of the enemy, which at one time enfiladed them from the north. During the morning, rebel infantry were observed on the edge of the woods first referred to; and between 2 and 3 P.M. a large body of them, amounting to a division or more, advanced in line towards us. Of the four small regiments constituting the brigade, one (the 151st) had been previously detached to support a portion of the corps to our right and rear. The remaining three were drawn up in the following order: the 142d on the right, 20th N. Y. in the centre, the 121st on the left, the battery occupying a space between the 142d and 121st. Notwithstanding the great disparity of the contending forces, and the left of our line being outflanked by at least one and probably two regiments, and the enemy's fire, direct and oblique, being very severe, the men of the brigade continued to hold their position for some time, until, being without any support, they were compelled to retire to a cover on the edge of the town, immediately in front of the seminary. Here they remained doing good service, checking the further advance of the enemy, till the battery and many of the troops in the town had withdrawn in the direction of the cemetery, when they retired to that point." Colonel Chapman Biddle's supplementary report of July 4th, says: "On the morning of the 2d, the 121st was moved into a field to the south of and near the cemetery, and placed under cover of a stone wall by the roadside, where it remained during the forenoon. Towards 12 noon, it was exposed to a severe shelling, which reached it from both the front and rear, during a sharp attack made by the enemy on our extreme right. The peculiar shape of the general line of battle, resembling somewhat a flattened horseshoe, will account for this effect. In the afternoon the fire slackened, when the regiment was moved behind a wall on the other side of the road, in which position its

defenses were reached by the enemy's musketry. The attack on this part of our line ceased toward evening, when the regiment changed its position to a field in front, and subsequently to the road, where the night was passed. On the morning of the 3d, the regiment was moved to the left to a field nearly opposite to our left centre, where it remained during the morning, exposed somewhat to the enemy's fire. Towards 1 P.M. a violent cannonading from a very large number of pieces of artillery was concentrated on our position, which continued for upwards of two hours and a half, destroying much of the breastwork sheltering the men, and wounding three of them. During the hottest part of this fire the regiment was moved in good order to an adjoining field to the left, and placed behind a breastwork of rails near the crest of a hill, where it remained throughout the attack on the centre. This attack, of a most determined character, was finally and successfully repulsed, towards sundown, by the troops in the first line, supported by our artillery. The steadiness of the men during the unparalleled artillery fire of the enemy cannot be too highly commended, and to it in some measure may be attributed the brilliant results of this day's operations."

Colonel Alexander Biddle's report, dated Bivouac in the Field, July 2, 1863, is as follows:—

"The 121st Regt. Penna. Vols., under my command, marched from W. R. White's house, in Freedom Township, yesterday morning, Wednesday, July 1st. On arriving at the top of the hill bordering the valley in which Gettysburg lies, we were marched into a field on the left of a wood, through which we saw the First Division driving the enemy. We remained in this field, exposed at all times to an enfilading or direct fire, sometimes facing northwardly and sometimes westwardly, as the attack of the enemy varied. A large body of the enemy's troops had been seen to the west of our position throughout the day. While we were taking up a position to the north, to support a battery at the corner of a wood, the enemy was seen advancing. We were ordered to form to meet them and changed front to effect it. As the proper position assigned to the 121st was immediately in front of the battery, we were moved to the extreme left, with the 20th N. Y. on our right. I saw the line of the enemy slowly approaching up the hill, extending far beyond our left flank, for which we had no defense. As the enemy's faces appeared over the crest of the hill, we fired effectually into them, and soon after received a crushing fire from their right, under which our ranks were broken and became massed together as we endeavored to change front to the left to meet them. The immediate attack on our front was destroyed by our first fire. The



CAPTAIN P. R. GRAY.

officers made every possible effort to form their men, and Captains Ashworth and Sterling and Lieutenants Ruth and Funk were all wounded. The regiment, broken and scattered, retreated to the wood around the hospital and maintained a scattering fire. Here, with the broken fragments of other regiments, it defended the fence of the hospital grounds with great determination. Finding the enemy were moving out on our left flank, with the intention of closing in on the only opening into the barricade, I reported the fact to the division commander, and by his directions returned to the fence barricade. The rebels, advancing on our left flank, soon turned the position, and our regimental colors, with the few men left with them, moved out of the hospital grounds to our present position, where we now have almost exactly one-fourth of our force, and one commissioned officer besides myself.

"I beg particularly to call attention to the meritorious conduct of Sergeant William Hardy, color-bearer, who carried off the regimental colors, the staff shot to pieces in his hands; also to the gallantry of Captain Ashworth and Lieutenant Ruth, both wounded; also to Lieutenants Funk and Dorr, and Captain Sterling. Acting Sergeant-Major Henry M. Copeland, Sergeant Henry H. Herbst, in command of Company "A," and Sergeant Charles Winkworth, are all deserving of high commendation; also Corporal John M. Bingham, of Company "A." The constant changes of position which the regiment was ordered to make, and the seeming uncertainty of which way we were to expect an attack, or what position we were to defend, was exceedingly trying to the discipline of the regiment. Their conduct was, in my opinion, far beyond praise. I also wish to call attention to those whom the men speak of as deserving of high commendation: Sergeants Robt. F. Bates, Wm. A. McCoy, Joshua L. Childs (wounded, who insisted on remaining with his company), John McTaggart, James Allen and Charles Barlow, Corporals Daniel H. Weikel and Edward D. Knight, and Privates T. B. H. McPherson and William Branson."

Thus, from both Colonel Chapman Biddle and Colonel Alexander Biddle, we have the story of the 121st on that eventful 1st of July and the succeeding days. Brief and simple, told at the moment, how clearly the incidents stand out, and how emphatic their commendation, how grateful their praise of individual officers and men. The regiment was worthy of its commanders, and did its duty, as they did theirs, coolly and fully, resolutely facing the enemy, outnumbering our force almost doubly, and holding one position after another, until by order it fell back to Cemetery Hill. Rallied there, the little band still

showed its noted courage, and joined in strengthening the lines on which the fresh divisions of the Third and Twelfth Corps and Stannard's Vermont brigade were formed, thus securing the opportunity for the concentration of the rest of the army with which General Meade won the battle of Gettysburg.

Buford, in his report, says: "General Doubleday's command, which fought bravely, was greatly outnumbered and forced to fall back. Seeing our troops retiring, and their need of assistance, I immediately rushed Gamble's brigade to Doubleday's left, and dismounted it in time to render great assistance to our infantry and to check and break the enemy's line.

"My troops at this place had partial shelter behind a low stone fence, and were in short carbine range. Their fire was perfectly terrific, causing the enemy to break and rally on their second line, which made no farther advance toward my position. General Gamble reports that in the afternoon the enemy, being strongly reinforced, extended his flanks and advanced on our left, in three strong lines, to turn that flank. The general commanding division ordered my brigade forward at a trot, and it deployed in line on the ridge of the woods, with the seminary on our right. Half of the 8th New York, 3d Indiana and 12th Illinois were dismounted and placed behind a portion of a stone wall and under cover of trees. The enemy being close upon us, we opened a sharp and rapid carbine fire, which killed and wounded so many of the first line of the enemy that it fell back upon the second line. Our men kept up the fire until the enemy in overwhelming numbers approached so near that, in order to save my men and horses from capture, they were ordered to mount and fall back rapidly to the next ridge, on the left of the town, where our artillery was posted. The stand which we made against the enemy prevented our left flank from being turned, and saved a division of our infantry."

Thus the cavalry, which in the morning had been relieved by the infantry, when the thin lines of Buford's brigade were hard pressed, in the afternoon, helped to weaken the force of the enemy directed against our weak infantry lines. Together thus infantry, cavalry and artillery co-operated in holding firmly the front of Gettysburg, and thus gave time for that concentration of fresh troops under General Hancock which gave General Meade time to approve the choice of the position in the rear of Gettysburg, and there to concentrate his army, and with it win the victory over Lee.

In "Fox's Regimental Losses," well called "Fox's Book of Martyrs," the 121st is repeatedly mentioned, viz.:—

The total number enrolled is given as..... 891
 Killed..... 109

Being..... 12.2 per cent.

The total number engaged at Gettysburg was..... 263
 Killed..... 29

Being..... 11 per cent.

At page 295 its history is thus given: 1st, Colonel Chapman Biddle; 2d, Colonel Alexander Biddle; 3d, Colonel Jas. S. Warner. Then follows the list (total enrolment and casualties):—

Field and staff.....	17	Killed.....	2	Died.....	2
Company "A".....	105	".....	21	".....	10
" "B".....	77	".....	9	".....	4
" "C".....	90	".....	10	".....	7
" "D".....	86	".....	10	".....	3
" "E".....	95	".....	10	".....	7
" "F".....	96	".....	16	".....	8
" "G".....	75	".....	8	".....	2
" "H".....	58	".....	6	".....	5
" "I".....	100	".....	10	".....	9
" "K".....	92	".....	7	".....	9
<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>	
Total	891		109		66

It then gives 109 killed—12.21 per cent.; total killed and wounded, 402; died in Confederate prisons, 18.

Battles; killed: Fredericksburg, 45; Chancellorsville, 1; Gettysburg, 29; Wilderness, 4; Spottsylvania, 9; North Anna, 2; Bethesda Church, 2; Petersburg, 6; Dabney's Mills, 8; Five Forks, 2; Salisbury Prison, 1.

Present also at Totopotamy, Cold Harbor, Weldon Railroad, Peeble's Farm, Boydton Plank Road, Hatcher's Run, Appomatox.

The following note gives the summary:—

"This gallant little regiment sustained a heavy loss in proportion to its numbers. At no time did it have a full complement of men, yet it distinguished itself on all occasions by its proficiency. It was recruited mostly in Philadelphia, and was organized there in September, 1862. It joined McClellan's army in October, and was placed in McCandless' brigade, Meade's division, Pennsylvania Reserves. With this command it fought its initiatory battle at Fredericksburg, with a

loss of 14 killed, 114 wounded, and 10 missing; total, 138. The brigade, under Colonel Chapman Biddle, was engaged at Gettysburg on the first day, its operations being conspicuous in the history of that day. The regiment marched on the field with only 263 officers and men; of this number 12 were killed and 106 wounded, and 61 missing and captured; many of the prisoners were wounded before they were captured. Upon the transfer of the First to the Fifth Corps, the regiment was placed in Roy Stone's brigade, of Wadsworth's division. It had received no recruits, and entered the spring campaign of 1864 with only 200 men. It fought in all the battles of the Fifth Corps, and in October the morning report showed only 89 men present for duty. In the spring of 1865 it entered on the final campaign in Coulter's Third Brigade, Crawford's Third Division, Fifth Corps, in which command it fought at Five Forks, and was present at the last surrender."

In the final list of regiments, we find the 121st lost:—

Killed and died of wounds.....	109
Died of diseases, accidents, in prison, etc.....	66
<hr/>	
A total of.....	175

The record of the 121st is perpetuated on the memorial which we dedicate to-day, and it is one of which the survivors have just reason to be honestly proud. It is the story of men who went into the field at a time of trial and despondency, who trusted to the leadership of a gallant soldier, and who found in him, and in Colonel Alexander Biddle, examples of what every man should be and do, a self-sacrificing devotion to duty, and a constant sense to it. Now, after the lapse of years, we look back upon the experience of that trying time, and may well be content with what the 121st did both here at Gettysburg and at every point at which it was tried, to the end.

The Confederate troops directly in action with the brigade commanded by Colonel Chapman Biddle, were Pettigrew's brigade, of Heth's division, of Hill's corps, consisting of the 11th, 26th, 47th and 52d North Carolina. Their casualty list was reported at 1,105. Pettigrew had on his right Archer's brigade, 5th and 13th Alabama, 1st, 7th and 14th Tennessee, and on its left Brockenbrough's 40th, 47th and 55th, and 22d Virginia; the former reported a loss of 148, the latter of 677. General Heth says that "Pettigrew's brigade encountered the enemy in heavy force, and broke through his first, second and third lines. The 11th and 26th N. C. displayed conspicuous gallantry, the 26th losing more than half its numbers in killed

and wounded. The returns of casualties in this regiment are 588 out of 800, showing what its strength must have been. Pettigrew's brigade fought as well and displayed as heroic courage as it was ever my fortune to witness on a battle-field. The number of its own gallant dead and wounded, as well the large number of the enemy's dead and wounded, left on the field over which it fought, attest the gallant part it displayed on July 1st. The command of Pettigrew's brigade passed to Major Jones, of the 26th N. C., who reports that the brigade moved in the following order: on the right, the 52d, next the 47th, then the 11th, and on the left, the 26th. When within about two and a half miles of Gettysburg, the brigade moved forward to and halted in a skirt of woods. In front was a wheat-field about a fourth of a mile wide, then came a branch with thick underbrush and briars skirting the banks. Beyond this was an open field, with the exception of a wooded hill directly in front of the 26th, about covering its front. Skirmishers being thrown out, we remained in line of battle until 2 P. M., when orders to advance were received. The brigade moved forward in beautiful style, at quick time, just with the brigade on our left commanded by Colonel Brockenbrough. When nearing the branch referred to, the enemy poured a galling fire into the left of the brigade from the opposite branch, where they had massed in heavy force while we were in line of battle in the woods. On went the command across the branch and up the opposite slope, driving the enemy at the point of the bayonet, back again upon their second line. This second line was encountered by our left, the 26th N. C., while the other regiments were exposed to a heavy shelling. The enemy's single line in the field was engaged principally with the right of the 11th and 47th. The enemy did not perceive the 52d, which flanked their left, until they disclosed themselves by a raking and destructive fire into their ranks, by which they were broken. On this second line the fighting was terrible, our men advancing, the enemy stubbornly resisting, until the two lines were pouring volleys into each other at a distance not greater than twenty paces. At last the enemy was compelled to give way. They again made a stand in the woods, and the third time they were driven from their position."

There are no regimental reports printed in the war records from Pettigrew's brigade, but the quartermaster of the 26th, wrote to the Governor of North Carolina that the brigade went in with over 800 men and came out with but 216, all told, unhurt. The division at the beginning numbered about 8,000, and came out at the close with only 1,500 or 1,600 effective men. The 26th N. C. at Gettysburg lost 72 per cent., a total of 588, the heaviest of any single regiment in any engagement

during the war. The 47th lost 161, the 52d, 147; the 11th, 209; a total of 1,105 Biddle's brigade lost; the 121st, 179; the 142d, 211; the 151st, 335; the 20th N. Y. (20th N. Y. State Militia), 170; making a total of 895, to which must be added the loss in Cooper's battery, 12, and a staff officer, 1; so that in its offensive defense the little brigade inflicted a much greater injury on its immediate opponent than it received, held its own against a much stronger force, and covered the retreat of the main body of the corps when it was overpowered and outflanked and forced to retreat through the town to Cemetery Hill. There the 121st rallied, was put in position, and waited for the succor that came before nightfall, to make the lines on which the successive events of the second and third days ended in the final victory.

Such, then, is the story of the 121st at Gettysburg, and indeed we need no better proof of the way it did its duty than this unconscious and involuntary praise from those who led the overwhelmingly strong force that swept in on both its flanks and compelled it, with the rest of Biddle's brigade, to retire from one position to another. Only when the guns were safely moved to the rear, and the mass of infantry had gone through the streets of Gettysburg did what was left of the 121st and the other regiments move steadily on to Cemetery Hill, where it was again put in line, and, under General Wadsworth, helped by its show of force to withstand and hold off the threatened attack of the large divisions of the enemy. The night was spent, as Colonel Alexander Biddle tells us, in singing hymns, not, perhaps, an evidence of satisfaction with the result of the day's work, but still showing that there was no panic in the hearts of men who, after so many weary hours of fighting and such heavy losses, could find comfort in their dear old tunes. The fact is, at all events, characteristic of the regiment, for at all times it was ready to do its duty, and that done, content to make the best of any condition of affairs.

Thus, then, let us close our share in the day's celebration; not, however, without making our acknowledgment to the authorities of the State of Pennsylvania for their care of the battlefield, for the liberal provision made for the regimental monuments, for the thoroughness with which the State Commission has done its work, and for the State aid providing for the transportation of every veteran to the field on this memorable occasion. Henceforth we shall feel that the 121st has secured its right place, and its survivors and the families and descendants of those who have passed away, will find its memorial the spot to which their feet will be directed whenever they may revisit this ground, so fraught with historic reminiscences, so full of interest for the historian and the patriot. Let us, too, follow the example of our

first colonel and do our duty in civil life, each of us in his own sphere, content that the opportunity is still granted us to perpetuate his name, and, as far as we may, to live up to the high standard that was always in the heart and mind of Chapman Biddle. Nor can we fail to emphasize our affection for Colonel Alexander Biddle, who bore his share in the work of the regiment with characteristic and distinguished gallantry, and who has always shown the liveliest interest in the welfare of all its survivors and in the affairs of its Veteran Association. To him, in peace as in war, the 121st has always turned for guidance and leadership, and in him it has always found a strong and constant friend. No truer test of merit exists than the harsh experiences of war, and his share in the trials and hardships of regimental life endeared him to every man in his command, and his kindness and personal interest have continued from that day to this, so that on every occasion the regiment, its Veteran Association and its members, and the families of those who have died, have found in him a friend. That he is not with us to-day, is at least fortunate in this, that it enables us to give free utterance to our respect and affection in terms that his modesty would forbid if he were himself present on this occasion. The 121st learned from both Colonel Chapman Biddle and Colonel Alexander Biddle, to let its actions speak for it, and from the outset it has made little claim for public notice. Even now it is content to point to the brief history recorded on its monument as embodying the most important events of its career. It can, however, fairly claim that it did its whole duty from the time it first entered the field until it was finally mustered out; that it fully justified the commendation of those under whom it served, and merited, as it received, the due praise of Meade and Reynolds, of Chamberlain and Warren, of Stone and Wadsworth, of Coulter and Crawford, of every general officer in whose command it took part, from Fredericksburg to Five Forks. From its officers it supplied many staff officers to the various brigades, division and corps headquarters of the army, and from its ranks came many of its best officers, and from them, in turn, officers of other regiments and of the regular army, so that it was, in its way, a training school, in that best of all schools, the actual experience of successive campaigns. Made up by the consolidation of companies from different parts of the State, it has been difficult to secure such reunion of its scattered elements as would give its regimental association its full strength.

On this occasion, almost for the first time, is there an opportunity for meeting once more those who were once united in its organization. For that we may well return thanks to the State, which has thus enabled its soldiers to renew their old associations. In the common

service rendered by the regiment, its members share alike; and when its history comes to be published, it will be seen how strong was the tie that bound together its members in the past, and how little time and separation have weakened it. It needs only an occasion like this of Pennsylvania Day to revive the old affection that binds together the scattered survivors in a love of the old regiment, in a common testimonial of piety for the memory of Colonel Chapman Biddle and of the other officers and men who have answered at the last roll-call. To us is left the sacred duty of renewing the memory of their good deeds, and the regiment has no need of other praise than the names of Chapman Biddle, James Ashworth, William White Dorr, Harrison Lambdin, Collett Barclay, and that long list of officers and men who are still affectionately remembered by all of us. By their deeds it won the right to the monument which marks its place on this field, and Gettysburg is but one of the battles in which it did its duty, and did it thoroughly. Here, then, at the foot of this memorial, we may fairly recount the events of that great struggle, which practically turned the tide of the rebellion and forever stayed its progress. Small as was the part of any single regiment in the great contest, still the 121st bore its share in the heat and burden of that first day, and may well take part now in the celebration which has brought us here once more, perhaps for the last time, to mark the final dedication of the State's memorials of its regiments. Let us, then, in conclusion, join in a resolve that we will try to be worthy of the 121st and of its first colonel, Chapman Biddle, and of those who shared with him and with us in its trials and hardships, in its honors and its history. Not the least marked of his characteristics were his modesty and his reticence—qualities that, perhaps, were not without effect on the regiment and the place awarded it in general estimation. It is, however, enough for us to know that it did its duty thoroughly and well, to the satisfaction of its leaders and to the advantage of the cause for which it enlisted. Its best reward was the final triumph of the Union, and beyond that it is plain that the regiment and its members have asked nothing and have got less. Perhaps all the more it is dear to its survivors because, from the colonel down, no man ever made any personal claim for what he or the regiment did, but all looked on it and its services as part and parcel of the Union army, freely sacrificing for the Union strength and health and life, and content with the final result as the full return for any loss.

The real test of success is the result, after all these years, when, without discussion or question, the place of the regiment is freely awarded to it on the post of most danger and of severest trial, and its share in the events of the day fully secured alike in the history of the

battle and in the reports of its commanders. The comparison of the reports given by Colonels Chapman and Alexander Biddle, and of those of the officers on the Confederate side, show such a general and unconscious agreement that the facts are clear and almost without difference. The 121st was in a post of great danger, and pitted against largely overpowering numbers; yet, with the rest of the brigade, it firmly held its own, falling back slowly from position to position, and only at the last retreated in good order to the last rallying point, Cemetery Hill. The events of that long day of successive fights earn for the 121st its distinctive monument, and to that we may point in justification of our right to be part of the events of to-day, and with our fellow-regiments renew the memories of the Gettysburg of 1863. Nearly a generation has passed since then, and how few are left of the little band that survived the day; how changed, and yet how strong in our devotion to the flag, to the Union and to the cause for which we stood together then! There is little occasion for the veterans who make part of the pilgrimage to-day to renew their pledges of patriotism; they made their proof when the battle was at its hottest, and time has not lessened their devotion to the country and their love for it. The men who gather together around their regimental monuments are relighting the fires of youthful devotion at the altars on which were sacrificed so many lives that the Union might live. While this still stands, supported by men of all sections of the country, who can fail to find in it the best return for all the losses, all the hardships, all the trials of the war? What greater lesson of patriotism than that which is taught by such a reunion as that of to-day? And this is but one of a long succession of such days. We and all who have gathered here will go home better citizens for having been good soldiers; and the government bought by the sacrifice made on this and on so many other battlefields will be purified and elevated, while it will be maintained at any cost by those who remember the trials and the hardships of the war for the Union. Nor are we without friends in the soldiers of the Confederacy, for they, too, are now citizens, and loyal and true, and little likely to be misled again. The lessons learned here are not for us alone, but the generation that has grown up since the war may well take to heart the example of those who are now fast passing from the scene; and while they may never need to submit to a test of battle, none the less it is incumbent upon them to preserve good government that the country may not suffer from evils worse than war, from corruption and dishonor, from lax rule and loose administration. Great as were the hardships of the war for the Union, they were none too much to pay for the salvation of the country.

Another monument, now standing near the position occupied by the regiment on the third day of the battle, and which was placed, originally, on the spot occupied on the first, was dedicated on the 3d of July, 1886. The following address was delivered by Walter L. C. Biddle, son of Colonel Chapman Biddle, in the presence of many of the survivors of the old 121st regiment, when the original monument was dedicated:—

“To-day, after twenty-three years, you revisit the theatre where your *role* was played. Your ranks are thinner and your limbs less strong than when, to the martial orchestra of booming cannon, you slowly moved, shoulder to shoulder, back through this town of Gettysburg.

“That day had been well spent: but your fame depended not on one achievement. When you stormed the heights of Fredericksburg, leaving your dead piled up to mark the post of honor that you held; your deeds were known and voiced by Meade himself, who cried, ‘Well done 121st; good enough for one day!’ And those words find echo in every breast, when we read, cut deep into this granite shaft, the legend of the part you bore on the spot which is hallowed by the spirits of those who fell.

“This perishable stone conveys at least one thought. It stands where many are reared, to tell future generations that here the unity of the nation was cemented in blood—that here on the soil of Pennsylvania, by the sinews and the sacrifices of her sons, was reset the keystone of the arch.

“This field shall be a Mecca.

“When Hastings, Waterloo, Sedan are forgotten, the English-speaking nations of the world shall turn hither, and, awe-stricken, whisper of the Titan race whose greatest battle announced that from that day forth their children should be united, and as their twice-chosen chief had spoken it on that field, theirs should be the heritage of all, a ‘government of the people, for the people, and by the people.’

“And now the monument of our regiment is delivered to the Association whose charge it will be to preserve and keep.

“Our exercises began with prayer. Let a benediction fall upon the heroes of ’63, and when the last of the Boys in Blue has marched sturdily away to ‘fall in’ in the ranks of the Grand Army, let little children gather flowers and wreath garlands and twine them around this stone, and wonderingly learn to lisp the story of how and why their grandsires died.”



GETTYSBURG BATTLEFIELD MONUMENT
 Standing at the point occupied by the Regiment July 3, 1863.

NARRATIVE OF COLONEL ALEXANDER BIDDLE.

The 121st regiment was raised in the summer of 1862 by Colonel Chapman Biddle, and completed by union with a fine body of men brought from Venango County by Colonel Elisha W. Davis, once Speaker of the Legislature, who became its lieutenant-colonel.

It first joined the army near Sharpsburg, after the battle of Antietam, marching with it to the Rappahannock. Its first general action was at Fredericksburg, where, in the assault of Meade's division upon the enemy's lines, it lost one-fifth of its force and was congratulated for its behavior both by Meade and Reynolds.

With this considerable diminution of its strength, details for artillery, ambulance and commissariat service, and a full company at corps headquarters, it was reduced on the night of June 30, 1863, to 256 muskets and six line officers present for duty.

It was the leading regiment of the First Brigade, Third Division (Doubleday's), First Corps (Reynold's), and as such on outpost duty on a line extending eastwardly and westwardly from Ross White's Cross-roads, about eight miles from Gettysburg, the left of the picket-line being near Farmer Topper's house.

The bearing of the line was taken from a map in Mr. White's parlor, and run by compass carried in the hand on horseback. In so doing, two lots of horses were passed secreted in the woods, the last being the farmer's, who was seen as the last post was established in the woods ascending the steps of his house.

"The officers rode up to him, asked him his name, and assured him of the safety of his horses in the Union lines. His astonishment was indescribable, for he evidently had no idea of Union soldiers being so near at hand.

"The night passed without alarm, but with early morning a staff officer (Lieutenant Lambdin) came with orders to draw in the pickets and march, giving directions to promptly engage the enemy wherever met, and stating the probability of a battle near Gettysburg.

"The pickets were hurriedly collected, but before they had all returned the brigade was on its march. A company of sharpshooters attached to brigade headquarters leading, then the 121st, with skirmishers thrown out on both flanks; the 142d, Colonel Cummings; the 151st, Colonel Macfarlane; the Ulster County (New York) 20th Regiment, Colonel Gates, and a battery of artillery, Colonel Chapman Biddle, commanding brigade.

"The march continued on a beautifully clear morning for some hours. At last the sound of firing was heard to the front and left. A

bridge was passed and the regiment turned to the left, passing along the dry bed and banks of a stream, then turned to the right and ascended a ravine; it was not known then that the battery and regiments in the rear had been met at the bridge by staff officers and hurried on through Gettysburg to the field.

"As the 121st reached the head of the ravine it came out on the Hagerstown Road, on the crest of a slight ridge west of Gettysburg, among the 8th Illinois Cavalry. A trooper volunteered the information that the enemy was not over 5,000 strong, and it was likely to be a good day for us; but the enemy's line was clearly seen about 1,000 yards to the west, extending out of a wood into an open field, where the men were lying down, and both artillery and musketry firing was going on to the north. On the edge of an open wood the regiment was formed in line of battle, facing west; the company of sharpshooters was thrown forward about 300 yards into a farm enclosure, which they held through most of the day, with effective service. To the north, General Reynolds was seen in the open fields near a wood. Soon an order came to move on to the north and form on the left of the first division. Whilst this was being effected, a regiment (Michigan or Wisconsin) of the division was seen to charge into the wood, and when its edge was reached, the first care of the surgeon was the wounded on the ground.

"The brigade was brought together and continued in this position for several hours—sometimes in line of battle patiently waiting attack, sometimes in *échelon* of regiments, sometimes moving up and over the summit of the western ridge, sometimes changing front to the north—a fire of shells from time to time breaking in the wood or harmlessly passing beyond the position. Whether these manœuvres were to avoid exposing any definite line to artillery from which distance could be calculated, or to keep alive the attention of the men, or for any other reason, could not be told, but, perhaps, both ends were attained.

"An hour or more elapsed before we were told by a staff officer (Captain Halstead), in answer to a casual question, 'that Reynolds was killed and Doubleday was in command of the First Corps, which was to hold the grounds at all hazards.' At last an advance of the enemy was distinctly seen from the north—a line of men came out of the woods, advanced, seemed to falter and be taken up by another stronger line, which moved forward with heavy firing. During this the 121st was ordered to change front to the north, and move to the right to permit other regiments to form on its left, the regiment taking its assigned position in rear of a battery under a lively fire from the enemy's shells. It was again ordered to change front to the west,

which it did, moving by the left flank to the south, necessarily in rear of the regiment before on its left, from which it was ordered to deploy to the left and south to meet the enemy advancing from the west.

"To effect this it was obliged to pass in rear of a battery firing on the approaching enemy, and to form on the extreme left of the brigade. As it executed this movement, a regiment of the enemy was seen advancing diagonally to gain a position well beyond the left flank, and another moving directly upon the position the 121st was marching to.

"It reached this point before the enemy; moved forward to the crest of the ridge until obstructed by a fence, but was in time to deliver the first fire, the fence preventing the possibility of a charge. The firing was continued by file. The inequality of the combat was soon manifest. Overwhelmed with the fire from flank and front, this small force of less than three full companies retained the position until the battery had safely retired, and nothing but a barren field was left to their opponents. Major Ashworth (afterwards U. S. revenue officer at Philadelphia), left wounded on the field, reported that only scattered men passed him. The remnant of the regiment fell back with the colors to the seminary, the color-sergeant, Harvey, carrying the colors and their staff shot into three pieces in his hands.

"The advancing enemy never followed the retreat as a compact line; but when the new position at the seminary was taken, the troops of the enemy were seen moving by the flank across our front within a very short distance, receiving our fire without returning it. Our men were ordered to cease firing under an impression they were our own men. It ceased for a few moments, when, facing toward us, our adversaries delivered their fire. The contest at this point was obstinately maintained, and while suffering severely the thinning out of our opponents was perceptible. The line of the enemy extending beyond our left, there was danger of being wholly cut off. At or near this point most of our missing men were lost; the main body, with broken troops, artillery and ambulances, retreated along the road towards and through Gettysburg, passing the court-house to Cemetery Hill, where a regiment of the Eleventh Corps and a battery of artillery were formed in position. General Wadsworth and his staff were on the hill. The troops were reformed, the men seeking their regiments with alacrity; cartridges were procured from an Eleventh Corps ordnance officer, the 121st Regiment receiving a supply for 82 men out of 256 who marched to Gettysburg that morning. Captain William Dorr, of Germantown, was the only line officer unhurt.

"About half an hour afterwards some cannon shots were fired by the battery. The troops were ordered to be in readiness. A Bucktail

regiment, believed to be Colonel Langhorne Wister's, moved at double-quick towards Culp's Hill, but no assault was made, although evidently intended and expected. General Sickles arrived before sundown, announcing the near approach of his corps. Quiet gradually settled upon the hill, and the evening was passed by the men singing hymns as they rested on their arms in view of the possibilities of the morrow.

"Thus the first day of July ended, the two armies, moving in the same general direction on converging lines, had run into each other, the First Corps striking Hill's division of Lee's army, and holding it from early morning with absolute loss in the open field, Archer's brigade being captured, the only prisoners taken by Hill being 'the men with bullets on their caps,' First Corps, with others to hear from later.

"The strategical position, whatever the quality of his troops, can hardly be considered in favor of Lee; his line of march, with Ewell in advance at Carlisle, Hill in the centre and Longstreet half a day in the rear, had been struck as by a wedge by the advance of Reynold's corps.

"The rapid return of Ewell from Carlisle, grasping the point of the wedge, and throwing back the First Corps, without timely support, upon the Gettysburg Hill to await the main body, averted a threatened penetration of Lee's centre.

"Terrible as was the loss of a dearly loved commander, so zealous and true, at any sacrifice, to military duty and friendship, as Reynolds, to the Union army, Lee's gain was scarcely more than the preservation of his line of battle and concert of action with his separate divisions. It would appear that he was satisfied with this.

"Much has been conjectured about the possibility of taking Cemetery Hill, on the afternoon of July 1st, by Ewell; and that it was intended, attempted and given up by him, the writer believes from the following incident:—

"Some time after the war he heard General Meade say, in conversation, that 'two weeks before he took command of the Union army he did not know that he had a single enemy, but that two weeks after he did not know that he had a single friend.' This brought forth the remark 'that there was greater unanimity of action and feeling among the Southern leaders than among the Northern,' on which General Meade said, 'I don't know that; I will tell you why: When General Ewell was in Philadelphia he called on me, and while talking, asked me, 'What would have been the effect if Cemetery Hill had been carried on the afternoon of the first day?' To which he replied, 'Why, of course, the battle of Gettysburg never would have been

fought.' 'Then,' said General Ewell, 'I wish you to be careful of what you say, for if you say that you take away from General Lee the last vestige of military reputation that he possesses.' The assumption, however, that Cemetery Hill could have been carried by Ewell's troops—who had marched some twenty miles, not without opposition, who would have been obliged to ascend the streets of Gettysburg in column, under a direct fire of artillery, deploy in line of battle, and mount a hill defended by troops who, though worsted, were far from dispirited—is pure conjecture.

"After a night's repose, with careful study and preparation, the experiment was made on the following day, but with no success.

"At nightfall, as before mentioned, the regiment slept on its arms in a field on the south slope of Cemetery Hill, in which the enemy's shells from both front and rear met in the attacks of the second day, moving at night to a wall on the side of the main road. On the morning of the third day it took up a position in rear of the centre in front of General Doubleday's headquarters, and was engaged in clearing the fields of obstructions. A small house to the left and rear was in use as a field hospital. In front, from Cemetery Hill to Round Top, the Union line was thin and weak, and upon this, after a morning's manœuvre, one hundred pieces of artillery opened their fire, the notice and prelude of the grand attack of the third day; but this notice lost to General Lee all the advantage he possessed of selecting a point of attack and massing his troops against it. It seems, therefore, to have been a tactical mistake. The cannonade was fruitless in results to General Lee, but its long continuance gave time for the Union line to be greatly strengthened, which, by the energetic efforts of General Newton, who had taken command of the First Corps, as successor of General Reynolds, was effectively accomplished.

"The reply of the Union guns had almost ceased from its demonstrated uselessness, when Lee sent forward his infantry to meet a freshened line no weaker than his own. It was not surprising then that his troops, torn by artillery, which had accurately gained range of the whole field, should fail before a line which alone was equal in force to their assailants.

"The awe induced by the startling effects of the artillery fire had passed away; the men had become cool and anxious for the assault. Near the position of the 121st a man's arm was shattered by a shell; a horse was killed by another; a spent round bullet struck a man lying down, in the middle of the cap, he picked it up and the men laughed; some spent round shot ricocheted like cricket balls. A piece of shell exploding overhead fell on General Doubleday's back and shoulder.

A battery of artillery moved up and took the position of the 121st, which moved further to the left. Three regiments also passed to the front before the final assault. A singular instance of presentiment occurred: Captain Flagg, of the 142d, ordnance officer on the staff, of calm and tried courage, extremely popular and highly esteemed for the finer qualities of a soldier and a gentleman, was heard to say, 'This shelling I cannot bear; musketry fire I do not mind.' This feeling, so contrary to that usually experienced, seemed a suggestion of impending fate. He was found killed by an exploded shell, with a lacerated body and a broken arm.

"The impression that continuous artillery fire on open fieldworks being an error may have been formed from hearing Commodore Foote speak of the capture of a fort in the Canton River upon which fire was opened with a whole broadside, the boats advancing at the same time quickly carried the fort—the commodore, judging that the smoke of the broadside would obscure the vessel as a target, and the exploding shells on the ramparts produce the greatest amount of demoralization of the enemy at the moment of the assault by the boats. This reasoning should apply more forcibly to fieldworks than to forts.

"The attack ended by Longstreet's men coming in, in crowds, without arms, passing down the Baltimore Road. Many received rations and hard-tack from the freely-opened haversacks of their opponents of one short hour before—a sympathetic evidence of the disposition which men long opposed in arms involuntarily cherish of generous respect for worthy, courageous opponents.

"As night approached, the busy hum in the enemy's lines gave notice of a movement in retreat. Quiet had existed for some time, and a renewed attack had been patiently awaited; but shots became only occasional until the whistling of but one overhead, supposed to be from a Whitworth gun at long range, producing a sound like that of a widgeon in its flight, was the final assurance of their retreat from the field. The men knew that sound meant safety from that which produced it, and with increasing intervals the cause was farther off.

"Thus ended Gettysburg. The loss of this little band of Philadelphia and Venango troops has few parallels in military annals. General Solomon Meredith estimated the actual shrinkage of his division on the first day at 70 per cent., the residue being well in heart and mind for the next two days. The official reports published by the Count of Paris show that the loss was general for the regiments engaged. The actual loss of the 121st Regiment was 12 killed outright, 106 wounded, 61 missing. At no time was there any panic or other characteristic than that of steadiness, alacrity and willingness in

behavior. The seven periods of the battle of Inkerman, described by Kinglake, exhibit a resistance of British troops to as many assaults, but not with such loss. No field of battle exhibits qualities which do more honor to the patient endurance, spirit and discipline of the soldier; but yet, as in all other fields, so in Gettysburg, it is to be always remembered of those who have acted best their part, that they rest upon the battle-field.

“*‘Tidit alter honores.’”*

Commenting on this address, the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* of August 11, 1887, remarks:—

“An interesting memorial has just been issued by the 121st Pennsylvania Volunteers. It presents an engraving of the monument placed on the spot at the extreme advance held by the regiment on July 1, 1863, together with the following inscriptions: ‘Extreme left of Union line, first day, facing west. Occupied Cemetery Ridge July 2d and 3d. Erected by the survivors of this regiment in memory of their fallen comrades.’ ‘Colonel Chapman Biddle, brigade commander. Major Alex. Biddle commanding regiment. First Brigade, Third Division, First Corps.’ ‘Whole number engaged: 7 officers, 258 enlisted men. Casualties: Killed, 12 enlisted men; wounded, 5 officers, 101 enlisted men; captured and missing, 1 officer, 60 enlisted men; total, 179.’ ‘Called into service by President Lincoln, September 1, 1862. Participated in all the engagements of the Army of the Potomac, commencing with the battle of Fredericksburg. Mustered out June 2, 1865.’

“The four faces of the die thus tell the story of the regiment, while the simple granite shaft, surmounted by the insignia of the First Corps, fitly marks its services at Gettysburg, where, under the two Biddles, it did such gallant fighting.

“But even more interesting than this silent though eloquent memorial is the brief address by Walter L. C. Biddle, son of Colonel Chapman Biddle, who commanded the 121st, and the sketch of the Gettysburg campaign by Major Alexander Biddle, its immediate commander at the battle. Both the Biddles belong to that large family which for several generations has filled so many important offices of trust and honor in this city and in the State. All of them, whether in public or private life, have shown themselves good citizens, and earnest and able in their performance of every duty. Colonel Chapman Biddle was cut off in the prime of life, and it was a fitting tribute to his memory that his son should dedicate the Gettysburg monument of the

regiment organized and led by the father. Colonel Alexander Biddle is still spared to be as useful in peace as he was gallant in war. His narrative of the battle and of the part of the regiment in it is told with modesty, simplicity and brevity. It presents vividly the occurrences he saw and bore part in, from the march to the front on that July day, through all its shifting scenes and rough encounters with an overwhelming force, until their retreat to Cemetery Hill. There 'quiet gradually settled upon the hill, and the evening was passed by the men singing hymns as they rested on their arms in view of the possibilities of the morrow.' There is a touch of pathos in this, very characteristic of the officers and men of the regiment, and the serious earnestness with which they did their duty. We do not think the incident has ever been told before, and it well deserves a place in all future histories of Gettysburg and the great battle. Colonel Biddle thinks that neither the choice of Gettysburg nor the handling of the Southern troops were the best that Lee could have made, but he does not accept General Ewell's disparaging reflection on Lee's tactical movements. He gives a modest account of the waiting work done by the 121st from their place on the line of battle during the 2d and 3d, and a vivid description of the great artillery duel, of the movements of troops, of the actual shock of arms, of the overthrow of Pickett's column, and the friendly welcome given to Longstreet's men 'coming in in crowds without arms. Many received rations and hard-tack from the freely-opened haversacks of their opponents of one short hour before—a sympathetic evidence of the disposition which men long opposed in arms involuntarily cherish of generous respect for worthy, courageous opponents.' Few things better befit a gallant soldier like Colonel Biddle than this characteristic tribute alike to his own men and to their foes. His 'narrative' has but one fault, it is too short."

At the time this monument was dedicated, no appropriation had been made by the State for such purpose. The expense was met by contributions from the survivors of the regiment and their friends. The appropriation afterward made by the State permitted a larger and more suitable mark to be placed where the regiment met such heavy loss, and the monument already in position was then moved to the point where it now stands, a short distance to the left of the celebrated clump of trees, Pickett's point of assault July 3d. The inscriptions are as follows:—

"Colonel Chapman Biddle, Brigade Commander 121st Regt. Penna. Vols., July 1, 1863. Major Alexander Biddle, commanding regiment First Brigade, Third Division, First Corps."

“Whole number engaged, 7 officers, 258 enlisted men. Casualties: killed, 12 enlisted men; wounded, 5 officers, 101 enlisted men; captured and missing, 1 officer, 60 enlisted men; total, 179.”

“Extreme left of Union line, first day (facing west). Occupied Cemetery Ridge July 2d and 3d. Erected by the survivors of this regiment in memory of their fallen comrades.”

“Called into service by President Lincoln, September 1, 1862. Participated in all the engagements of the Army of the Potomac, commencing with the battle of Fredericksburg. Mustered out, June 2, 1865.”

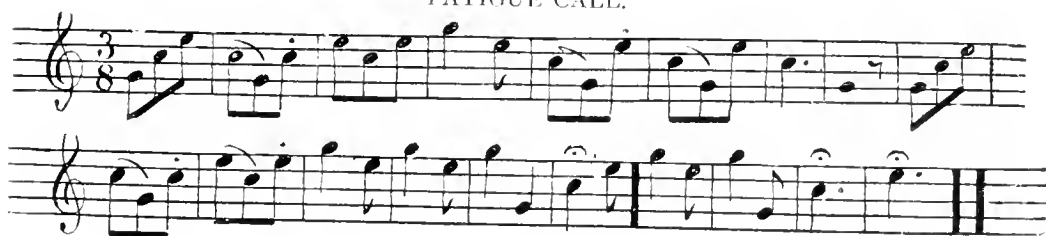
By comparing the inscriptions on the two monuments, it will be noticed that discrepancies exist in the figures giving the numbers engaged as well as the losses. The correct numbers engaged were 7 officers and 258 enlisted men. Company “B” was not in the engagement, and did not return to the regiment from duty at corps headquarters until after the fight, but was no doubt included in arriving at the number as given on the second monument. The difference in losses is accounted for probably from the fact that the statements of losses recorded in the War Department have been undergoing a revision, and the new figures were arrived at subsequent to the placing of the first monument.

Calls.

REVEILLE.



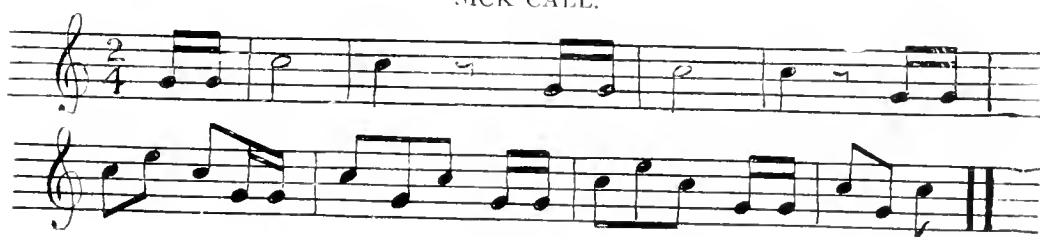
FATIGUE CALL.



ASSEMBLY—"FALL IN!"



SICK CALL.



TAPS.



APPENDIX.

Regimental and Brigade Commanders and Official List of Principal Engagements.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
RECORD AND PENSION DIVISION,
June 10, 1891.

Respectfully returned to Mr. W. W. Strong, Philadelphia, Pa.

It appears from the records that the 121st Regt. Penna. Inf. Vols. was commanded, during its period of service, as follows :—

From September 3, 1862 (date of muster in of field and staff) to January 18, 1863, Colonel Chapman Biddle; January 19, 1863, to February 24, 1863, Lieutenant-Colonel Elisha W. Davis; February 25, 1863, to March 29, 1863, Major Alexander Biddle; March 29, 1863, to July 1, 1863, Colonel Chapman Biddle; July 1, 1863, to August, 1863, Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Biddle; August, 1863, to September, 1863, First Lieutenant and Adjutant Thomas M. Hall; September, 1863, to January 16, 1864, Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Biddle; January 17, 1864, to February 11, 1864, Major Thomas M. Hall; February 11, 1864, to April 12, 1864, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas M. Hall; April 12, 1864, to May or June, 1864, Samuel T. Lloyd, Captain Company "E;" May or June, 1864, to September or

October, 1864, Nathaniel Lang, Captain Company "F;" September or October, 1864, to March or April, 1865, Henry H. Herpst, Captain Company "A;" March or April, 1865, to May 4, 1865, Major West Funk; May 4, 1865, to June 2, 1865 (muster out of field and staff), Lieutenant-Colonel J. S. Warner.

The regiment served in the following-mentioned brigades:—

October, 1862, First Brigade, Third Division, First Army Corps; March, 1864, Third Brigade, Fourth Division, Fifth Army Corps; June, 1864, First Brigade, First Division, Fifth Army Corps; September, 1864, to muster out of regiment, Third Brigade, Third Division, Fifth Army Corps.

Following are the names of the brigade commanders:—

September 29, 1862, Brigadier-General T. Seymour; November 14, 1862, Colonel William Sinclair; December 13, 1862, Colonel William McCandless; February 17, 1863, Colonel James R. Porter; March 28, 1863, Brigadier-General Thomas A. Rowley; June 30, 1863, Colonel Chapman Biddle; July 2, 1863, Brigadier-General Thomas A. Rowley; July 3, 1863, Colonel Chapman Biddle; September 24, 1863, Lieutenant-Colonel A. B. McCalmont; October 2, 1863, Colonel Chapman Biddle; December 28, 1863, Colonel Langhorne Wister; February 24, 1864, Colonel E. L. Dana; March 24, 1864, Colonel Roy Stone; May 7, 1864, Colonel E. S. Bragg; June 6, 1864, Colonel J. L. Chamberlain; June 18, 1864, Colonel W. S. Tilton; August 22, 1864, Lieutenant-Colonel W. A. Throop; September 14, 1864, Colonel J. W. Hofmann; January 24, 1865, Colonel H. A. Morrow; February 10, 1865, Colonel J. W. Hofmann; March 6, 1865, Lieutenant-Colonel J. T. Jack; March 9, 1865, Colonel C. W. Tilden; March 15, 1865, Colonel R. Coulter; May 13, 1865, Colonel A. R. Root; June 24, 1865, Colonel L. Wagner; June 26, 1865, Colonel A. R. Root.

By authority of the Secretary of War.

F. C. AINSWORTH,
Major and Surgeon, U. S. A.

WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, November 25, 1887.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM W. STRONG, Philadelphia, Pa.

SIR:—As requested in your letter of the 26th ult., I have the honor to furnish, from the records of this office, the following list of the principal engagements, etc., in which the 121st Penna. Inf. bore a part during the late war, viz.:—

Fredericksburg, Va., December 12-15, 1862; Chancellorsville, Va., May 3-5, 1863; Gettysburg, Pa., July 1-3, 1863; Wilderness, Va., May 5-7, 1864; Spottsylvania, Va., May 8-20, 1864; North Anna, Va., May 23-27, 1864; Totopotomay, Va., May 28-31, 1864; Bethesda Church, Va., June 1-5, 1864; Cold Harbor, Va., June 6-12, 1864; Petersburg, Va., June, 1864-March, 1865; Weldon Railroad, Va., August 21, 1864; Poplar Grove Church or Peeble's Farm, Va., October 1, 1864; Dabney's Mill or Hatcher's Run, Va., February 6-7, 1865; Boydton Plank Road (Burgess' House), Va., March 31, 1865; Five Forks, Va., April 1, 1865; Appomattox Court-House, April 9, 1865. Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. L. DRUM,
Adjutant-General.

CAPTAIN JAMES ASHWORTH.

James Ashworth was born in Bury, Lancashire, England, September 11, 1836, and came to this country with his parents in 1838; locating near Holmesburg, Pa. He moved to Frankford about 1853, attended a two years' course at the Philadelphia High School, then entered the shipping house of Cope Bros. (Liverpool packets) and remained with them till the war opened. He accompanied General Patterson's command to Hagerstown (though not connected with it). While there, he heard that the rebels were moving to destroy the canal above Williamsport, Md., and went to see what was going on. At Cold Spring, above Williamsport, he found the Union men in arms to resist the attempts of the rebels, who were trying to blow up Dam No. 5, so as to disable the canal. He joined the Union men, taking a musket and fighting all day, the rebels being driven off without accomplishing their object. Next day he went to Williamsport, was arrested as a rebel spy, and tried as such by a committee of citizens. While being tried, his Cold Spring comrades of the day before came in town, and learning what was going on, soon cleared him by their testimony of his loyal conduct at Dam No. 5, at Cold Spring. Thinking that it was getting too warm for a man who was neither in nor out of the military service, he came back to Philadelphia.

In August, 1862, he raised a company of men in Frankford, which became Company "I," 121st Penna. Vols., and went to the front, joining the Army of the Potomac shortly after the battle of Antietam, moved with it down to Fredericksburg, Va., and took part in the battle, December 13, 1862, also in the "mud march" and battle of Chancellorsville. After getting back to camp, he applied for a sick furlough and

came home, as he was much broken down. Before the expiration of his furlough (thirty days) the Gettysburg campaign opened and he returned to his regiment, which he joined near Centerville, Va., on its march after Lee's army. On July 1st he was desperately wounded, having been hit eleven times, fell into the enemy's hands, and was a prisoner until their retreat on the morning of July 5th. He lay at Gettysburg and York, Pa., for several months before he was able to be moved home. On account of his wounds and being unable to rejoin his command, he was honorably discharged February 10, 1864, after having been successively commissioned major, lieutenant-colonel and colonel. Shortly after, he was commissioned captain in the Veteran Reserves and ordered to New Orleans. While on his way there, the steamer was wrecked on the coast of Florida, and the people were taken off by a gunboat and brought to New Orleans. After duty at New Orleans he was ordered to Baton Rouge, where he was stationed at the close of the war. He was then ordered to Washington and thence to Audalusia Hospital, Bucks County, Pa., to discharge convalescents, from there to York, Pa., on similar duty, and thence to Baltimore, from there to Louisa Court-House, Va., where he was in charge of the Freedmen's Bureau until his resignation, when he returned to the employ of Cope Bros. He was appointed revenue assessor of the Fifth District, Pa., by President Grant, and afterward collector of same district, and when the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh were consolidated, was made collector of the consolidated district, which position he held until failing health forced him to resign, which he did February 16, 1882. He went to Gainesville, Florida, where he died March 21, 1882. His body was brought home and buried at Cedar Hill Cemetery, Frankford, Pa.

JACOB BENEDICT.

Who among the survivors of the regiment can forget the many instances when the patient drollery of Jake Benedict relieved the monotony of our long and tiresome marches on the cold and dreary nights, as, for instance, when camp was struck in the height of a storm? Always cheerful and full of fun, his light disposition showed most to advantage when his comrades were grave with the heavy burdens of the march or the discomforts of the camp under unfavorable circumstances. It was his delight to invent any scheme or prolong any dialogue that would tend to cheer up his comrades, and often, by the originality and fitness of application of his funny remarks, he raised a laugh in which the entire regiment joined. It is to be regretted that the committee has been unable to trace up those in the possession of



FIRST LIEUTENANT JOHN M. BINGHAM.

facts that would enable us to give more extended mention of this good and faithful soldier. It has been said that, before he enlisted, Jake was a cab driver, in which calling there can be no doubt he was a success. He was sent to Mother Earth by a rifle shot from the enemy while the regiment was charging down the slope of a hill in front of Petersburg, June 18, 1864, and almost turned a double summersault, but very soon reported for duty in his accustomed place. Kind-hearted and ready to assist a comrade at the risk of his own life, as the writer had occasion to know. On the evening of the 5th of May, 1864, when the entire division fell back precipitately before the enemy, at the risk of being captured or losing his life, he stuck close to a comrade who was completely exhausted and would have been unable to reach our lines had not Jake Benedict fairly dragged him along. After serving his entire term with his regiment in all its trials and triumphs, he received his honorable discharge at the final muster out and lived in Philadelphia many years after, until at length he joined the great majority.

THE BINGHAM BROTHERS.

Among the many instances of unselfish patriotism displayed by Pennsylvanians in the hour of trial, that of the family of the Rev. Wm. B. Bingham, of Venango County, deserves particular mention. His three sons, mere boys, the oldest just past twenty, enlisted in Captain Ridgway's company and served with the regiment, two of them giving up their lives on the altar of their country, and the survivor carrying for the balance of his short life several reminders of the excellent service he had performed. Wm. J. Bingham was born in Birmingham, Pa., December 29, 1841, and died of congestion of the brain, in camp at Belle Plain, Va., February 20, 1863, having been sick three days. His remains were afterwards removed and buried in the family lot at Miller's, in Crawford County, Pa. A quiet, unassuming and noble young man, whose bright prospects for the future were suddenly cut away by dread disease and exposure.

The second son, John M., was born also in Birmingham, Pa., July 23, 1843, and was employed in a store at the time of his enlistment. When his brother William called upon his father for his written consent to enlist, John in his quiet way said, "write two, we will go together." William and John enlisted in August, 1862. John was wounded at Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville and at Gettysburg, and was named in Major Biddle's official report of the battle of Gettysburg as worthy of special mention. After Gettysburg, for his bravery, he received his promotion to First Lieutenant. After conspicuous

gallantry he was taken prisoner at Poplar Grove Church with Colonel Warner and a number of the officers and men of his regiment. At Gettysburg he received a wound in the side from a rifle ball which he carried through the balance of his life, and which ever after had a depressing influence on him. After receiving the shot he continued in the ranks firing some twenty rounds. When ordered to the rear, he asked for bandages and water and coolly dressed his wound, telling the surgeon to attend to those more seriously wounded. After the war he went into a store again, and subsequently went west, first to Nebraska, then to Kansas, lastly to Indian Territory, where he was drowned while fording a river. He is buried in Indian Territory.

The youngest brother of the three, Calvin D. Bingham, was born in Birmingham, Pa., January 29, 1849. He enlisted and joined Company "A," in February, 1864. His first engagement was the Wilderness, where he was taken prisoner. His brother John wrote: "Not a veteran in my company fought more bravely than did Calvin." He was taken to Libby Prison, then to Danville, and finally died in November, 1864, in the prison at Florence, S. C. His is a nameless grave, and all efforts of his relatives to identify it have failed. Calvin was a boy of bright intellect and excellent memory. At the age of eleven years he would hold an audience spellbound while giving a declamation. A favorite piece of his being, "Shall the name of Washington ever be heard by a freeman and thrill not his breast?" He was fond of reading the lives of those patriots who were prominent in the history of his native land.

LIEUTENANT GEORGE W. BRICKLEY.

First Lieutenant George W. Brickley, of Company "A," was of English parents, and was born in Cincinnati, O. His father was a baker of that city. He moved from there in 1854 or 1855 to a farm in Pendleton County, Ky., thence, in 1856, to Davenport, Iowa, and subsequently to a farm in Iowa where he and his wife died. George left his father's home in 1856 and returned to Cincinnati, O., where he learned the carpenter's trade. In 1860 he went to Franklin, Pa., and worked for Captain P. R. Gray for a short time, after which he opened a shop of his own, which he carried on until June, 1862, when he enlisted in Company "A," and at the organization of the company was elected its first lieutenant. He was an industrious, energetic young man and a zealous and patriotic citizen and soldier.

He was killed in the battle of Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862, in the woods at the top of the hill at the farthest point advanced

to by our regiment, just as the line was beginning to fall back. He was probably shot through the chest, as he was seen to throw his arms across his breast and fall on his side.

As the line fell back, he raised himself on his right elbow, with his left hand on his breast and his head leaning back, and cried out with pain.

His body was delivered to our burial party the next day and buried on the field. It is not known that any of his relatives are now in this country.

LIEUTENANT J. K. BYERS.

J. K. Byers was born in Pinegrove Township, Venango County, Pa., November 26, 1839. Reared on his father's farm, where in early life he spent many a weary day's labor; thorough-going and attentive to his daily toils, never leaving any duty undone. His early education was such as was afforded in the district school. After advancing as far as possible in such schools, he attended select school in Venango County, Pa., after which he engaged in teaching school—one term in Clarion County, Pa., and one in Illinois. After his return from the West, he remained at home on the farm until his enlistment in the Union army. The first and only battle in which he engaged was Fredericksburg, where he lost his right arm, was taken prisoner and was incarcerated in Libby Prison. After his release, he joined the Invalid Corps, serving therein until his appointment in the regular army. While stationed at Camp Douglas he was among the first to discover the plot laid by the Golden Circle to destroy the city of Chicago. He also took an active part in suppressing an insurrection raised in the city of St. Louis, and was highly commended by the Governor of Missouri for his coolness and bravery.

CAPTAIN JOSHUA L. CHILDS

Was twenty-nine years of age when he entered the service. He was at once selected as sergeant of his company, in which position, by his kind and genial disposition, his untiring care for the men under his charge, and the impartiality with which he dispensed the various tasks among them, he at once won their respect and esteem. His devotion to the cause he had engaged to defend was manifested in the zeal with which he performed the duties of his position and the excellent example he set his comrades under all circumstances. Naturally modest, placid and even tempered, always cool and collected, he was well calculated to assume the weightier responsibilities his promotion to lieutenant and subsequently to captain brought to him.

The commander of the regiment, when making his official report of the first day's battle at Gettysburg, July 1, 1863, named several, including Sergeant Joshua L. Childs, whose meritorious conduct was worthy of special mention. He was promoted to first lieutenant in July, 1864, and to captain in December, 1864. After the muster out of the regiment in 1865, he engaged in active business, in which he was as successful as he had been in accumulating the honors of war.

SERGEANT-MAJOR CONNELLY.

Charles Collingwood Connelly, son of James F., and Elizabeth C. Connelly, was born in Venango County, Pa., February 28, 1838. His ancestors held prominent and honorable positions among the early pioneers of Northwestern Pennsylvania, his father being a man of bright intellect and superior education; and his mother a woman of patient, lovable disposition and most exemplary life. Such a one as might be expected to impart to her children those attributes of nobility which characterized Charles, and endeared him alike to school-day companions, army associates and all with whom he came in contact.

He was, from early life, an industrious, kind-hearted boy; and, though inured to toil and privations incident to a sparsely settled and comparatively isolated district, was diligent in taking advantage of the limited opportunities for education afforded by the "old log school-house" in the neighborhood, and thus, when he entered the army, was a young man of more than average intelligence; judged by the standard of his surroundings.

He enlisted as a private in Company "A" July 12, 1862, and was successively promoted, each time for meritorious conduct, to corporal December 29, 1862; sergeant March 23, 1863, and sergeant-major October 23, 1863, holding the latter position when wounded May 5, 1864. How faithfully and intelligently he performed the duties of the respective positions is testified by all his army comrades. Soon after being wounded—the shot having taken effect in his right leg, below the knee—the regiment was forced to retire from the position it had occupied, and an effort was made to carry the crippled soldier from the field. He, seeing the danger to which his rescuers were exposed, insisted on their leaving him and making good their escape.

The last heard from him was through a letter written from the field hospital, a few days after his capture, to his father, in which he mentioned being very much reduced, and expressed the hope that amputation of his leg would not become necessary. His character was such as to leave no doubt in the minds of those who knew him, that, if he had survived, he would have embraced the first opportunity

of informing his friends of his condition. The inevitable conclusion is, that he sleeps, one among the many thousands, in "graves unmarked, unnumbered and unknown."

The unselfishness of his noble life is epitomized in the last appeal heard from his lips by the comrades who endeavored to rescue him from the fate of a prisoner: "Boys, leave me here alone, and save yourselves or you will be captured."

Brave! true! generous! Charles Connelly. Among the recorded host of "wounded and missing in action" there is none more worthy of honorable mention than he. Peace to his soul!

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL DAVIS.

Elisha W. Davis was born in Butler County, Pa., September 8, 1827. He received a common-school education, and at the age of fourteen removed to Venango County, where he found employment in the Rockland Blast Furnace, and taught school in the winter, finally becoming proprietor of the furnace. He also studied law, and in 1857 was admitted to practice at the bar of Venango County. Two years later he was elected to the lower branch of the State Legislature, and was re-elected in 1860 and became Speaker of the House in 1861.

Lieutenant-Colonel E. W. Davis, whom we remember as a large heavily-built man, had originally embarked to organize the 145th Regt. Penna. Vols., and was apparently getting fairly under way when the exigency of war demanded that the troops already enrolled should be sent at once to the front. This brought the men of Biddle and Davis together into one regiment, and nothing short of the loftiest patriotism could have induced Davis to accept a subordinate position after using his efforts to organize a regiment which he expected to command. Between him and Colonel Chapman Biddle, in the matter of discipline, there existed the widest possible gap. While Colonel Biddle was a strict disciplinarian, for which his men feel grateful even to the present day, though they were not able during the service to appreciate its value fully, Davis seemed to disregard its importance entirely, and while, during the drills and parades of the early service, he would look on apparently with some interest, he seldom participated in them. The training of the men in matters of discipline, he left entirely to others. As an illustration of his general manner and genial disposition, one little instance will suffice: While on one of the marches down through Virginia previous to the Fredericksburg affair, one of our comrades from Venango was more fortunate than the rest of us and succeeded in capturing and slaughtering a fine sheep. The

following morning, bright and early, he proceeded to the Lieutenant-Colonel's quarters to surprise him by presenting a quarter of mutton. The Lieutenant-Colonel was just finishing his toilet when he was greeted with: "Good morning, Davis." "Why—is that you; good morning." "Davis, I've brought you a nice piece of meat." "Thank you—it *is* nice; what's the cost?" "Oh, nuthin'." "But I want to pay for it, and am not willing to take it without paying for it—what's the cost?" This somewhat disconcerted his visitor, who, hesitating as to the best method of extricating himself from an awkward position, finally said: "Now, see here, Davis; when I was a working for you at the old furnace in Venango County, I wanted some money one Saturday evening to buy whiskey, and you wouldn't give me any. I was mad, and went to the stable and took a bag full of oats and sold them and got the whiskey, and now if you're a mind to call it square, you take this piece of meat for them oats." "All right," said Colonel Davis, "we'll call it square, and you shall have a canteen full of 'commissary' to-morrow morning in the bargain."

Resigning from the army on account of ill-health, he moved to Philadelphia, and in the fall of 1865 was elected to the House of Representatives, serving for six consecutive terms. In 1868 he was again elected Speaker, and several years later entered the State Senate as the representative of the Fourth District. He served two terms in this body, of which he was the President during the Centennial year. November 27, 1872, he received from the Governor of Pennsylvania a commission as brigadier-general by brevet. In 1879 General Davis went to Colorado to reside permanently, and was for a time a member of the Legislature of that State, being the Speaker of the House for one year. He died in Philadelphia February 13, 1887.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM WHITE DORR.

"Killed in action at Spottsylvania Court-House, Va., May 10, 1864, while temporarily in command of his regiment." His commission as major reached the field a few days after his death.

Captain Dorr was born in Philadelphia, October 31, 1837. He was the son of the Rev. Benjamin Dorr, D. D., Rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, and Esther Kettell Odin, daughter of John Odin, Esq., of Boston. He was descended from distinguished New England ancestors, through his father, from the Dorrs, among the earliest settlers of Roxbury (now part of Boston), and the Daltons, of Salisbury, Mass., sturdy Puritans. On his maternal side he was a lineal descendant of the Chief Justices Lynde, father and son, of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, the Rev. Increase Mather, the Rev. John



LIEUTENANT-COLONEL THOMAS M. HALL.

Eliot, the "Apostle to the Indians," the Rev. William Walter, Rector of Christ Church, Boston, and other distinguished New Englanders.

Captain Dorr was educated in Philadelphia. He was twenty-five years of age when he entered the army. Of a remarkably genial temperament, he was the centre of a large circle of devoted friends.

A man of unflinching honor and integrity, he became a favorite among the officers of his regiment, and his keen sense of duty and consistent treatment of those under his command made him beloved and respected by the enlisted men.

He served with great bravery and distinction in the battles of Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, the Wilderness, and at Spottsylvania Court-House, where he was killed in action. His remains were taken to Salisbury Point, Mass., and interred among his people, in the village cemetery, near "Pine Bank," on the Merrimac River, the homestead of his father's family for more than a century, and still remaining in the ownership of the sisters and brother of Captain Dorr.

His death was deplored by every one who knew him. A mural tablet in Christ Church, Philadelphia, "erected by his comrades and his friends," records his patriotism and his virtues.

A fellow-officer wrote of him: "Among the pure, one of the purest; among the brave, one of the bravest; among the noble fellows of the army, one of the most modest, most loved and most esteemed, he was the idol of his company and his regiment."

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL HALL

From Philadelphia Press of November 9, 1864.

Lieutenant-Colonel Hall was the eldest son of Rev. Dr. Hall, of Trenton, New Jersey. He was born in Philadelphia, June 2, 1835. He graduated at Princeton College, and soon after commenced the study of law in the office of his uncle, the Hon. William M. Meredith, and was admitted to the bar in 1856.

At the breaking out of the war, in 1861, he actively identified himself with the well-known artillery company of Colonel Chapman Biddle, and in August, 1862, when the 121st Regiment was raised for three years' service, although not at all in robust health, he determined to give himself to the service of his country in the field, and accompanied the regiment as its adjutant.

In the steady, never-ending routine of official business, with its innumerable vexations, he was ever untiring in his faithfulness; never absent from his post, he was foremost in every fight, and foremost in every good work that tended to improve the regiment. For more than

a year after his health was seriously impaired, he persisted in going through the severest labors and exposure without a murmur.

Though not in the regular line of promotion, Adjutant Hall was, in the spring of 1864, at the request of his brother officers, appointed major of the regiment, and was subsequently made lieutenant-colonel.

Soon after, his health, which had been for a long time failing, gave way entirely, and he was obliged to resign the service, in order to prolong for a few short months a life which had already, as it were, been freely given to his country. He died at his home in Philadelphia, on Sunday morning November 6, 1864.

Pennsylvania has never mourned a truer soldier, or one of more unselfish purity of life. He knew not self; his constant thought was for the welfare of others. With the highest order of courage, he combined a gentleness of disposition almost feminine.

Respect was too cold a word to express the feeling of his regiment for him who asked none to follow where he dare not lead.

At a meeting of the officers present with the 121st Regt. Penna. Vols., held at the headquarters of the regiment, near Petersburg, Va., November, 15, 1864, the following preamble and resolutions were adopted:—

WHEREAS, It is with deep sorrow that we learn of the death of our late beloved commander and esteemed friend, Lieutenant-colonel Thomas M. Hall,

Resolved, First, That we deem it a duty we owe to the memory of a brave officer to join in this testimonial of our high regard.

Resolved, Second, That in him we were accustomed to recognize those traits of character combining the true gentleman and soldier that tend to endear the commander to his subordinates.

Resolved, Third, That on the battle-fields of Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville and Gettysburg, he evinced bravery of a superior order, and, by his undaunted and fearless example, inspired the men with confidence and enthusiasm.

Resolved, Fourth, That as regimental adjutant he always discharged his duties promptly and faithfully, and was unanimously called upon by the officers present with the regiment to fill the vacancy caused by the promotion of Major Biddle, and was soon after promoted to be lieutenant-colonel. But he was not permitted to remain long with us. His health, which for more than six months had been visibly declining, now became so delicate that he was obliged to be sent home, where, after continuing for a short time, it has been our unspeakable misfortune to learn of his death.

Resolved, Fifth, That we tender to the family and friends of the deceased our heartfelt sympathy in this their deep affliction, and hope they may be sustained in the severe ordeal through which they are called upon to pass.

Resolved, Sixth, That these resolutions be sent to the family of the deceased, and copies to the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and *Sunday Dispatch*, for publication.

CHAS. L. ATLEE,
Commanding regiment, President,
P. R. GRAY,
First Lieut. and R. Q. M., V.-President.

F. F. DAVIS,
Assistant Surgeon, Secretary.

SIDNEY HECKARD.

Thomas Fair, of Company "A," 121st Penna. Vols., writes from Trenton, Mo., January 9, 1893:—

"My schoolmate, messmate and dear friend, Sidney Heckard, was killed in the battle of Fredericksburg, on the 13th of December, 1862. He was sick on the march from the lately-fought battle of Antietam to Fredericksburg, but refused to leave the ranks when the surgeon advised him to do so and went on by my side to his death; and one more who was more generally known and universally loved by all who knew him, was my schoolmate before the war and a corporal, I think at our regimental organization, afterward promoted to a sergeant-major of the regiment, and lost on the 5th day of May, 1864, at our first encounter at the Rapidan. As we advanced in line of battle through the timber, crossing a small field, containing a small hut and tobacco-barn built of logs, scaling the fence and on through the timber again and descending to what seemed to be a level tract of dense undergrowth, a volley of musketry from the enemy riddled our ranks and caused our lines to fall back in considerable confusion, Charles Connelly, our sergeant-major, was at my side trying to retreat with us on one leg, the other having been broken just below the knee by a minie ball. A comrade of Company "E" and myself tried to help our sergeant-major back and putting an arm over each of our necks, we helped him to the fence of the enclosure before mentioned, and being very close pressed by the rebels at this point, my comrade, probably thinking that one free soldier was worth more to the Government than three in rebel bonds, took to his heels. At this I asked Connelly what I must do. He said, 'Help me to that ditch (a small ravine in the

centre of the open lot), and then save yourself.' This I did. This was the last ever heard or seen of our brave little sergeant-major, Charles Connelly, by Northern friends."

CAPTAIN HENRY HARRISON HERPST.

H. H. Herpst was born on the 26th day of January, 1836, in Clarion County, Pa. He was the son of John and Mary Herpst, who afterwards removed to Scrubgrass, Venango County, Pa., where they lived at the period of their son's enlistment in August, 1862. Master Herpst was educated in the common schools and prior to enlistment was engaged in farming.

He was a member of Company "A," 121st Penna. Vols. and filled the offices of orderly sergeant, first lieutenant and captain, and was mustered out with his regiment at the close of the war.

After the war he engaged in the oil business until November 27, 1868, when he entered on the duties of high sheriff of Venango County, an office which he filled with fidelity and ability.

He was a stockholder in the *Oil City Times*, the first daily paper published in Oil City. This he afterwards disposed of to the parties who organized the *Oil City Derrick*.

He was twice married, first to Miss Anna Cone, daughter of Andrew Cone, who for a time represented our government at Para, Brazil. Mrs. Herpst died about January 1, 1872. He afterwards married Mrs. Jennette Shaw.

He died at Busti, New York, October 23, 1885, of pneumonia.

The characteristics of Captain Herpst were honesty, bravery, and coolness in danger. He was loved and respected by his friends and neighbors.

He was a good soldier and a good citizen, and died a member of the M. E. Church.

J. H. HOLMAN.

J. H. Holman was born in Philadelphia July 24, 1838, and was the oldest of five sons. He attended the public schools, and after passing examination for admission to the Philadelphia High School, it was his father's wish that he should enter the drug business; but, as he afterwards became interested in his father's business, he learned the trade of book-binding. Previous to the breaking out of the war, in 1857, he made a trip around the world in the ship *John Trucks*. Upon the breaking out of the war, he enlisted in the 121st Regiment, as private. He was transferred from the 121st Regiment to the 2d Pennsylvania Artillery, under command of Col. Gibson. After serving in that

regiment as second lieutenant, he was advanced by promotion to the rank of captain, and finally was breveted major. He entered Colonel Biddle's 121st in 1862, Captain T. Ellwood Zell's company, and was in the engagement of Snicker's Gap, and from Warrenton Junction down to Fredericksburg. In December, 1862, he was promoted to second lieutenant of Battery "G," 2d Pennsylvania Artillery, and afterward he was first lieutenant. In 1864 he was promoted to Battery "E," 2d Provisional Artillery, and participated in the battles of the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, Cold Harbor, and in front of Petersburg.

He commanded his regiment in several charges in front of that city, June 17, 1864, and captured the first line of rebel breastworks. He commanded five companies of his regiment at the mine explosion in front of Petersburg, July 30, 1864, and was twice wounded. After the capture of Richmond, he was appointed Assistant Superintendent of the Freedmen's Bureau, in the vicinity of Petersburg, which position he held until December 1865, when his regiment was mustered out of service. He died April 27, 1881, from paralysis caused by the wounds that he received in the army.

He was descended from Revolutionary ancestors who settled in Massachusetts in 1636. Members of his family have been engaged in all of the wars of this country, from the early Indian and Revolutionary wars, on through the War of 1812 and the Mexican War down to that of the Rebellion. Some of his relatives were imprisoned in Dartmoor Prison, the Black Hole of Calcutta: and were impressed as seamen in the British service. He was fearless and self-sacrificing in the interests of his men, sharing with them whatever he had.

CAPTAIN CHARLES F. HULSE.

Charles F. Hulse was born May 24, 1843, and after a brief experience of mercantile life, joined the company reorganized by Captain Chapman Biddle at the outbreak of the Rebellion. When Colonel Biddle organized the 121st Penna. Vols., Mr. Hulse became lieutenant of Company "B," and was distinguished for his good conduct, both in action and in the service generally. He was soon assigned to staff duty, and served with great credit, winning the respect and affection of the successive brigade and division commanders and the field and regimental officers with whom he was thus brought in contact. Returning to civil life, he engaged again in business, and married the daughter of Mr. Frederic Collins, a well-known citizen of Philadelphia. Captain Hulse died August 28, 1876.

CHAMBERS LAWRENCE.

Chambers Lawrence was born July 16, 1840, at Great Western, Pa. He, with his parents, removed to Scrubgrass Township, Venango County, Pa., in 1842. He united with the Big Bend Methodist Episcopal Church at the age of sixteen, and lived a consistent member. He was wounded in the thigh in the battle of Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862, and lay on the field two days and two nights, after which he was taken to a hospital and lived two days, and died December 17, 1862.

CAPTAIN JAMES HARRISON LAMBDIN.

James Harrison Lambdin was born in Philadelphia September 25, 1840. He was the second son of James Read Lambdin then and for many years one of the leading portrait painters of this country. His youth was passed in Germantown, where his father resided, and at the age of 16 he entered the University of Pennsylvania. From childhood young Lambdin had exhibited a decided artistic talent, which was encouraged by his father and his elder brother, also a distinguished artist, and at the close of his sophomore year he left college and engaged in the study of painting. He exhibited two pictures, both still life-studies, at the annual exhibition of the Academy of Fine Arts in 1859.

About this time, young Lambdin, while not forsaking art, became a teacher of English at the Episcopal Academy and in this position developed a power of discipline remarkable in one so young, as well as a still more unusual power of commanding personal attachment and respect. In the early war excitement he joined an informal military company in Germantown, under the instruction of an accomplished German officer, who afterwards entered the service, when Lambdin, though one of the youngest members, became the actual instructor in tactics, himself giving conscientious devotion to the study. This amateur science was of value in forming the character of the young military man, so that in the summer of 1862, when he began recruiting duty for the 121st, he was not wholly without knowledge of the duties before him.

The record of Lambdin's military service is given elsewhere. Small and slight in build and of a refined and nervous temperament, he nevertheless endured the long, hard service of the Army of the Potomac without fatigue or failure and with constant devotion and cheerfulness. Throughout the war his artistic talent was frequently exercised. It was, in fact, his knowledge of drawing that led to his first assignment to staff duty, in topographical work for General



CAPTAIN JAMES HARRISON LAMEDIN.

Doubleday. His sketch-book was his constant companion and his letters home were richly illustrated with drawings of camp-life, portraits and views, as well as with humorous illustrations of army experience.

At the close of the war Colonel Lambdin, then in his twenty-sixth year, proposed to devote himself again to art, but in the desire for immediate employment he entered the service of the Harrison Boiler Works as a draughtsman, and somewhat later resumed his former profession of a teacher at the Episcopal Academy. He had been always a serious-minded man, of earnest religious convictions, and the determination now became formed in his mind to devote himself to the sacred ministry. Much of his leisure time was devoted to church work in the parish of St. Michael's, Germantown, where he was superintendent of the Sunday-School and where he established a guild for workingmen, and other agencies of the kind that were much less common then than they have since become. In the spring of 1870 he was ordained a deacon by the late Bishop Stevens of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Pennsylvania.

Although Lambdin had apparently stood the rough service of the war without harm, he was one of the many who felt the effects of it afterward in the return to a sedentary life. At the time of his ordination his constitution was visibly impaired, but it was thought that it would be strengthened by a visit to Europe in company with his brother, who was going abroad for his health. They accordingly went together, and while traveling on the Continent found themselves suddenly in the midst of the turmoil of the Franco-Prussian War. It was with difficulty that they made their way through France and to England, and the fatigue and anxiety of this experience were such that Lambdin returned home in September entirely broken down; and after lingering for a time, amid the alternating hopes and fears of his family and friends, in November he died, having but just completed his thirtieth year. He was buried in St. Luke's church-yard, Germantown, where a monument erected by his comrades-in-arms commemorates the pure record of a faithful soldier and minister of Christ.

CORPORAL REUBEN McCONNELL.

Corporal McConnell was universally liked in the regiment. Good-natured, generous, brave and willing at all times to accept his share of any hardship. During one of the many movements of the regiment on the 13th of May at Spottsylvania, while crossing an elevation in full view of the enemy, whose batteries were rapidly firing at the

moving line, a shot struck McConnell in the thigh, tearing it to shreds. He was almost immediately carried off the field, but expired before reaching the hospital tent.

SERGEANT SAMUEL C. MILLER

Was born in the city of Philadelphia August 11, 1844, was educated at the public schools in that city, reaching the Central High School, which he left to enter his father's store just prior to the beginning of the war. He enlisted in Company "E," 121st Regt. Penna. Vols., and was mustered in with his company and appointed sergeant August 15, 1862. He was with his command at the battles of Fredericksburg, Va., December 13, 1862; Pollock's Mills, Va., April 30, 1863; Chancellorsville, Va., May 4, 1863, and Gettysburg, Pa., July 1, 1863, on which latter date he lost his life.

As a boy he was always obedient and dutiful to his parents, as a young man was honorable and upright in all his dealings, and he died in his 19th year beloved and respected by all who knew him.

CAPTAIN GEORGE E. RIDGWAY.

George Espy Ridgway was born in Franklin, Venango County, Pa., on the 17th day of October, 1829. He entered the service as captain of Company "A," 121st Penna. Vols., August 28, 1862. During the engagement at Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862, he received a wound which disabled him and necessitated his discharge from the service. He returned to Franklin and engaged in refining oil. In 1872, he sold his interest in the business and engaged in the omnibus business. In 1878, he went West with his family and engaged in carpentering and contracting, and while engaged at work, a scaffolding on which he was working gave way, and he received an injury which caused him to give up his trade. After partially recovering from his injury, he returned to Franklin, and was tendered and accepted a position at the Eclipse Oil Works, of Franklin, Pa. His injuries, however, had completely broken down his health, and he died June 11, 1891, after a lingering and painful illness. He was buried in the Franklin Cemetery by the Masonic Fraternity.

FIRST SERGEANT EDWARD SCHEERER, COMPANY "B."

In that excellent book entitled the "German Soldier in the Wars of the United States," written by Captain Jos. G. Rosengarten he says: "One of the best elements of the little regular army was the

supply of excellent non-commissioned officers, largely old German soldiers, and it was a great stroke of good fortune when a volunteer company had one of these well-trained and well-disciplined men in its ranks. He steadied the whole line and gave it an example of soldierly excellence in every particular.

"Such a man was Edward Scheerer, first sergeant of Company 'B,' of the 121st Regt. Penna. Vols., a German, who had served in a battery of the Third United States Artillery under some of the most distinguished officers of the regular army. Such men as Reynolds and Burnside recognized him as an old comrade, and his bearing and gallantry and knowledge of the real business of soldiering were the object of universal admiration among the green hands, both officers and men of his regiment. He fell at the battle of Fredericksburg, Va., and he was but a type of the large number of German soldiers who served in the ranks, and who, like Scheerer, sacrificed good employment at home to do their duty to the country of their adoption at the hour of supreme peril and trial."

Edward Scheerer was born in Neistan, Germany, and came to his adopted country in 1838, while yet under 18 years of age. His naturalization papers state that he had been a subject of the Grand Duke of Baden. He had, prior to the Rebellion, served three separate terms in the United States regular army. His honorable discharge for the term of five years ending June 9, 1850, issued at Jefferson Barracks, Mo., as private of Captain and Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Bragg's Company "C," Third Artillery, gave his description as "33 years of age, five feet eight inches high, fair complexion, blue eyes, light hair, and by occupation a soldier," and bears the following endorsement: "Private Scheerer served in the field during the whole of the Mexican War, and after its close for two years against the Indians in New Mexico. He was present in all of General Taylor's battles and acquitted himself efficiently and gallantly." Signed, Braxton Bragg, Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel and Captain Third Artillery.

At the formation of the 121st Regiment he was to have been a commissioned officer, but was thrown out by the consolidation with the 145th Regiment, when he enlisted and was made first sergeant of Company "B." Sergeant Scheerer was a soldier by nature, a man of magnificent physique; he stood nearly six feet in height and weighed two hundred pounds. He wore a heavy beard, which reached his waist.

His long experience as a soldier made him an excellent drill-master, and to his splendid training is due the efficiency which Company "B" attained as one of the best drilled companies in the 121st

Regiment. At the battle of Fredericksburg, during the repulse of Meade's brilliant charge, he stuck to his post and used every effort to steady the men. His command, "Rally once more on the colors," having been given the third time when he was shot dead.

The following extracts from letters written shortly after his death by Captain Alex. Laurie, of his company, and Lieutenant Jos. G. Rosengarten, of Company "D," testify to his worth:—

CAMP OF 121ST REGT. PENNA. VOLS.,
NEAR WHITE OAK CHURCH, VA.

MRS. B. SCHEERER.

DEAR MADAM:—Your letter of the 19th inst. came duly to hand. It becomes my sad duty to inform you that your husband fell in the battle of Fredericksburg, mortally wounded, almost instantly killed, for he never spoke after he was shot. He died in a very few minutes afterwards, and we buried him the next day. He was at my side when he fell; he fought bravely, and was the best soldier in the regiment. All loved him who knew him.

Yours respectfully,

ALEX. LAURIE.

MESSRS. POWERS & WEIGHTMAN.

MY DEAR SIR:—Captain Laurie, of Company "B," in my regiment, requested me to call your attention to the case of Edward Scheerer. This man was the orderly sergeant of Laurie's company. He was the very best soldier that I ever saw, and he fell fighting very gallantly at the battle near Fredericksburg almost at my side. He had been for fifteen years in the regular service, and was then in your employment at the Falls of Schuylkill. He enlisted in our regiment, and often spoke to me of your zeal for the cause for which he was fighting, and hoped, that if he fell, I would tell you of his good conduct. This I am very glad to do.

Yours truly,

J. G. ROSENGARTEN.

FIRST SERGEANT WILLIAM STRONG.

William Strong was born in Mifflin County, Pa., April 23, 1817. After serving an apprenticeship with a cabinet-maker in Lewistown, Pa., he went to Philadelphia, where he married, and remained until his enlistment. By his skill and attention to business, he became quite prominent among his tradesmen and supplied some of the best-known



LIEUTENANT COLONEL JAMES S. WARNER.

dealers in Philadelphia and other cities with the products of his workshop. At the time of his enlistment he had passed his forty-fifth year, and so was entitled to remain at home had he chosen to do so. His love of military matters led him early in the forties to become attached to the "Philadelphia Grays," a light artillery company, in which he continued to take an active interest until the Rebellion scattered its members throughout the Union army. He was thoroughly trained in the tactics and duties of the soldier. A short time before he enlisted he was drill-master for a company of gentlemen organized for an emergency, and was solicited to accept the position of captain of the company. His experience served him well as first sergeant of Company "E," and the men under his care soon profited by the capable training they received. He possessed the respect of the officers and men of the entire regiment, and his loss was a severe blow to his company. He fell at Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862, at the most advanced point reached by the regiment in Meade's famous charge; was wounded in the ankle and in the right side, the latter causing his death on the following day.

It is our duty and pleasure to record the generous act of the commander of a Confederate regiment that greatly relieved the suffering of Sergeant Strong. When the Union lines were finally driven back, a son of the sergeant, who was a corporal in the same company, went to his father's assistance, but was unable single handed to take him off the field, and so both fell into the hands of the advancing foe, and became prisoners of war. The corporal approached the commander of one of the rebel regiments, occupying a position in reserve, and asked for a stretcher for the use of his father. On learning the situation, the officer without hesitation detailed men with a stretcher, with orders to take the sergeant to the field hospital a half mile or more to the rear and entirely out of harm's way, and where he remained until his death. When it is remembered that under the orders issued by the commander of the Union army, no assistance could be given the wounded by their comrades, this kind act on the part of the Confederate colonel can be better appreciated.

COLONEL J. S. WARNER.

James Spencer Warner was born in Lowville, Erie County, Pa., October 1, 1841. He was the oldest son of Rev. W. W. Warner, a prominent citizen of Erie County, and at one time its representative in the Pennsylvania Legislature.

Colonel Warner received an excellent education at the academies of Waterford, Pa., and Kingsville, Ohio, being a student at the latter

place with Judge Albion Tourgee and other distinguished men. After taking a course in a commercial college of Buffalo, N. Y., he was offered and accepted a position in the dry-goods house of Sam. L. Brown & Bros., of Pleasantville, Pa., where he had been but a short time when the call came for volunteers for the army. While not yet quite twenty-one years of age, he offered himself for the service of his country. His company, "A," at once selected him as first lieutenant. After the close of the war he returned to mercantile life until 1870, going then to Erie, Pa., entering the insurance business as agent for some of the largest companies in the United States and England, in which business he continued until his death, November 15, 1883.

One of the 300 Fighting Regiments.

Colonel Fox has selected from all the regiments in the Union armies the 300 regiments whose losses in killed and mortally wounded were heaviest, and he designates these as "the 300 fighting regiments." In this list of 300 fighting regiments the 121st Penna. Vols. holds the proud position of No. 18, there being but 17 regiments whose percentage of killed and mortally wounded is greater.

PHILADELPHIA, October 15, 1890.

DEAR COLONEL:—I note in your volume of "Regimental Losses in the Civil War," you fix the percentage of loss in killed and died of wounds for the 121st Regt. Penna. Vols. at 12.2 per cent., and the number of officers and men enrolled at 891. I have official advice that the number of officers and men entering the service was 730, and I believe some 24 men were subsequently recruited, making the total enrolled about (and almost exactly) 754, which would fix the percentage of killed and died of wounds, assuming you are correct in the number of the latter, 14.5 per cent.

The 121st Regt. Penna. Vols. is about getting out a record of all matters pertaining to its service, and we expect to make use of much of the information you publish in your valuable work, and if our percentage in killed was greater than you have it, would like to see it corrected. Will you kindly look into the matter and advise?

Yours very truly,

COLONEL WILLIAM F. FOX,
Albany, N. Y.

W. W. STRONG.

ALBANY, N. Y., October 21, 1890.

CAPTAIN W. W. STRONG, Philadelphia, Pa.

MY DEAR SIR:—I take pleasure in answering your favor of the 15th. Undoubtedly the 121st Pennsylvania never took to the front the number of men indicated by its total enrollment, and the percentage of killed, as based on its actual, instead of its nominal strength,

would greatly exceed the percentage stated in "Regimental Losses." But the same may be said of any other regiment; and as I had no means of knowing the actual strength, as distinguished from the nominal strength, I was obliged, in fairness to all, to use the "total enrollment," and adopt that as a common standard in calculating the percentages of killed.

Still, if your regimental historian, or historical committee, can ascertain definitely the actual strength with which you started for the field, together with any recruits who actually joined for service at the front, in justice to your regiment, such facts should be stated in your publication, and your percentage of killed adjusted accordingly.

You might also explain that in "Regimental Losses" the "total enrollment," which was used as a common standard in calculating percentages, necessarily included a large number of men who never served with the regiment—men who never joined the command, and some who deserted immediately after enlisting.

Nor could the author avoid including these, for he had no means of ascertaining the exact extent of the depletion from such causes. It was ascertained in some regiments, but, unless it could be ascertained for every regiment, the information could not be used. The basis of percentages must be the same for all.

Trusting that you can adjust the matter satisfactorily in your history, I remain,

Yours fraternally,

WILLIAM F. FOX.

P. S.—How did it happen that Company "H" was so small? Bates' rolls show only 48 officers and men in that company. Please ask some of the comrades in Company "H" for an explanation. How did the company get mustered when it had not the minimum strength required for muster?

I note, also, in looking over this matter, that the strength of the 121st Pennsylvania was officially reported on September 29, 1862, at 770. See Official Records, Vol. XIX, Part II, p. 369. If this reported strength included the "present for duty" only, the regiment must have had a still larger number when it left Philadelphia.

W. F. F.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., December 16, 1890.

COLONEL W. F. FOX, Albany, N. Y.

DEAR SIR:—Referring to your courteous letter of October 21st, I have made strenuous efforts to secure the information which you ask for in your postscript, in reference to the strength of Company "H"

of the 121st Regiment, when it was mustered into the service. Nobody connected with that company or with the regiment seems to be able to give any definite information in reference to the point raised by you. Colonel Alexander Biddle, who was major of the regiment at the time of its muster, explains as follows, viz.:—

“The Philadelphia half of the regiment, you may recollect, had the Venango levy of Colonel Davis added to it, and, with this, was mustered in as a complete regiment. I suppose it was the pressing need of men which caused the regiment to be accepted in that way, putting two half-formed battalions together and hurrying them forward to Antietam.”

You are familiar with all the circumstances attending the movement of troops to the front during August and the beginning of September, 1862, when regiments partially organized were consolidated in order to form full regiments, which were then hurried to the front. No doubt the exigency of the times necessitated many things that were not fully in accordance with regulations.

In reference to the strength of the 121st Regiment, and the percentage of loss as determined by you, I enclose for your information a letter which I received from O. D. Greene, Assistant Adjutant-General, January 13, 1888, from which it appears that the 121st Pennsylvania Infantry entered the service with 730 officers and men. Be kind enough to return this letter and oblige.

Yours truly,

WM. W. STRONG.

WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE.

WASHINGTON, January 13, 1888.

MR. WILLIAM W. STRONG, Philadelphia, Pa.

SIR:—As requested in your letter of the 24th ult., I have the honor to inform you that the 121st Penna. Inf't. entered the service with 730 officers and men, and at the date of its muster out it numbered 307 officers and men, including 24 men transferred to the 191st Penna. Inf't.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

O. D. GREENE,

Assistant Adjutant-General.

ALBANY, N. Y., December 18, 1890.

WM. W. STRONG, ESQ., Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAR SIR:—Enclosed I returned Colonel Greene's letter, which I read with interest and took the liberty of copying. Many thanks for the same.

Yours truly,

WILLIAM F. FOX.

Killed and Mortally Wounded.

The following list of killed and mortally wounded, made from company records, after all the facts were known, demonstrates the inaccuracy of official returns of casualties, reported immediately after engagements, on information not always reliable.

In this list only those who died within a very few days after being wounded are reported as mortally wounded. Very many were seriously wounded and died after lingering for months, from the effects of wounds, who are not included under this head.

FREDERICKSBURG, DECEMBER 13, 1862.

Company "A."—First Lieutenant G. W. Brickley, killed; Corporal John Burns, killed; Private Orin S. Babcock, killed; Private John B. Manson, killed; Private Chambers Lawrence, mortally wounded, died December 17; Private Prior McMurray, killed; Private James M. Manson, killed; Private William A. McKenzie, killed; Private John H. Stroop, killed; Private Sidney Heckard, mortally wounded, died December 21, 1862.

Company "B."—First Sergeant Edward Scheerer, killed; Corporal R. M. Snodgrass, killed; Sergeant George Keen, mortally wounded, died January 5, 1863; Private Victor Kneblher, mortally wounded, died January 6, 1863.

Company "C."—Private Charles E. Silver, killed; Private Charles B. Newman, mortally wounded.

Company "D."—Private Cornelius Dougherty, killed; Private Patrick McNamee, killed; Sergeant Erskine Hazard, mortally wounded, died December 13, 1862.

Company "E."—Private Malcolm Graham, killed; Sergeant William Strong, mortally wounded, died December 14, 1862; Corporal William C. Ryall, mortally wounded, died February 18, 1863; Private Peter Denver, mortally wounded, died January 13, 1863; Private John Schaffer, Jr., mortally wounded, died December 20, 1862.

Company "F."—Corporal Jacob Shawkey, killed; Private Leslie L. Say, killed; Private Reuben Swab, killed; Corporal John Phipps, mortally wounded, died January 15, 1863; Corporal Jeremiah Johnson, mortally

wounded, died January 15, 1863; Private David Cribbs, mortally wounded, died December 23, 1862; Private William Kennedy, mortally wounded, died December 21, 1862.

Company "G."—Lieutenant M. W. C. Barclay, killed; Private Joseph L. Ashbridge, killed; Corporal Charles C. Carver, mortally wounded, died —.

Company "H."—Private Edward J. Lawler, killed.

Company "I."—Corporal Albert Lindey, killed; Private Robert Kay, killed; Private Edward Morin, killed; Private William A. Vannetta, killed; Corporal James W. A. Bishop, mortally wounded, died January 13, 1863.

Company "K."—Private J. Bolton, mortally wounded, died December 21, 1862; Private James Burk, mortally wounded, died December 27, 1862; Private John G. Thom, mortally wounded, died December 16, 1862.

GETTYSBURG, JULY 1, 1863.

Company "A."—Corporal Solomon Engle, killed; Corporal Francis H. Hilliard, mortally wounded, died August 2, 1863; Private Wm. H. Kelly, killed; Private Wm. C. Waits, killed; Private Henry A. Cornell, mortally wounded, died July 8, 1863; Private Ebenezer H. James, mortally wounded, died —; Private David A. Trip, mortally wounded, died July 6, 1863; Private John McCool, killed.

Company "C."—Sergeant McCoy, killed; Sergeant McCaffrey, killed; Private Thomas Sodon, killed; Private Joseph Wilkins, killed.

Company "D."—Corporal John Kenny, killed; Private Henry C. James, killed.

Company "E."—Sergeant Samuel C. Miller, killed; Private George Blackburn, killed; Private William McDermon, killed.

Company "F."—Private James R. Bell, killed; Private Chester W. Tallman, killed; Private Simon P. Swab, mortally wounded, died July 7, 1863.

Company "G."—Private Tristan Campbell, killed.

Company "I."—Sergeant R. H. Cowpland, killed; Private Peter McNally, killed; Private Robert Ray, killed; Private John Thiele, mortally wounded, died July 12, 1863.

Company "K."—Corporal Wm. D. Spear, killed; Private Daniel Mullen, killed.

WILDERNESS, MAY 5, 1864.

Company "D."—Sergeant William B. Graham, killed; Private Peter McDonough, mortally wounded, died June 5, 1864.

Company "C."—Private John Magner, killed.

SPOTTSYLVANIA, MAY 10, 1864.

Company "C."—Private John Ridgway, killed; Private Wm. H. Stong, mortally wounded, died May 18, 1864.

Company "D."—Private Aaron Shallow, mortally wounded, died May 24, 1864.

Company "F."—Sergeant Thomas Service, killed.

Company "K."—Captain W. W. Dorr, killed.

LAUREL HILL, MAY 11, 1864.

Company "B."—Color-Sergeant William Hardy, killed.

Company "E."—May 13, 1864, Corporal Reuben McConnell, killed.

NORTH ANNA RIVER, MAY 23, 1864.

Company "H."—Private Wm. Graham, killed.

BETHESDA CHURCH.

Company "I."—Color-Sergeant Alfred Clymer, mortally wounded, died July 17, 1864; Private James Pierce, killed.

Company "H."—Private George Aldrich, killed.

PETERSBURG.

Company "A."—Corporal Aaron H. Harrison, killed; Private Wm. M. Kenzie, killed.

Company "B."—Private Edw. C. Shannon, killed.

Company "F."—Wm. Nellés, killed.

Company "H."—Private Thomas Wood, killed.

Company "K."—Private Robt. G. Lindsay, Jr., mortally wounded, died July 16, 1864.

IN REBEL PRISON AT SALISBURY, N. C., NOVEMBER 25, 1864.

Company "H."—Sergeant Wm. Douglass, killed.

DABNEY'S MILLS, FEBRUARY 6, 1865.

Company "B."—Private Alfred Wrigley, killed.

Company "D."—Sergeant Wm. Hudson, mortally wounded, died February 22, 1865.

Company "E."—Private Frank Dougherty, killed.

Company "F."—Private John Myers, killed; Private Abram Heckathorn, mortally wounded, died February 9, 1865; Private Obediah Simpson, mortally wounded, died February 14, 1865.

Company "G."—Private Edward Harker, killed.



FIRST LIEUTENANT GEORGE W. PLUMER.

FIVE FORKS, APRIL 1, 1865.

Company "G."—Private Chas. Dick, killed.

Company "H."—Private John McFadden, mortally wounded, died June 6, 1865.

Showing the actual loss in killed and mortally wounded as follows:—

Fredericksburg	24	killed.....	19	mortally wounded.
Gettysburg	21	"	6	"
Wilderness	2	"	1	"
Laurel Hill and Spottsylvania.....	5	"	2	"
North Anna.....	1	"	0	"
Bethesda Church.....	2	"	1	"
Petersburg	5	"	1	"
Hatcher's Run and Dabney's Mills	4	"	3	"
Five Forks.....	1	"	1	"
Stockade, Salisbury, N. C.....	1	"	0	"
	<hr/>		<hr/>	
	66		34	

Total killed and mortally wounded, 100.

Total number entering the service per letter O. D. Greene, Assistant Adjutant-General, page 153.....	730
Recruited during the service.....	24
	<hr/>
Total	754

Making the percentage of killed and mortally wounded 13.26 per cent.

Biddle's Brigade, July 1, 1863.

As a part of the First Brigade of General Doubleday's division at the battle of Gettysburg, the survivors of the 121st Regiment enter a protest against the intimation contained in the Comte de Paris' description of that engagement, that its first position was yielded to the enemy one moment before the balance of the line gave way; or, that by falling back, it was the cause of other troops being compelled to yield. When Biddle's brigade started on its retrograde movement, no other troops continued to hold the line. Whatever troops continued in their positions up to the time Biddle's brigade fell back, started to the rear simultaneously with Biddle.

In placing the various brigades so as to meet the enemy to the best advantage, it so happened that Biddle's position was to the left and somewhat to the rear of Meredith, so that necessarily the enemy met Meredith before he struck Biddle. While Meredith occupied this advanced position, his left flank was, of course, not directly protected. It is possible that this peculiar formation of the line, the merits of which we do not undertake to discuss, may have misled the Comte de Paris, but certain it is that by any retrograde movement of Biddle's brigade Meredith's left was not exposed.

The following correspondence should remove any doubts that may exist on this point:—

PHILADELPHIA, PA., June 16, 1892.

GENERAL ABNER DOUBLEDAY, Washington, D. C.

SIR:—The Comte de Paris, in his *History of the War*, page 568, Vol. 3, relating the events of the engagement of July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, gives the impression that Pender's three brigades advanced simultaneously on the left of the Union line, and that while Scale's Confederate brigade was driven back by Meredith's brigade, Perrin's brigade succeeded in driving Biddle from the field, so that the left of Meredith's brigade was exposed and taken in flank, causing it (Meredith's brigade) to "evacuate a portion of the wood in order to face the enemy who is threatening to turn their line." The idea here conveyed is that Biddle's brigade was driven from its position, and fell back to the seminary while Meredith was still confronting the enemy in the first position.

The survivors of Colonel Biddle's brigade feel that this statement of the Comte de Paris is unjust to them; their recollection being that there was no perceptible difference in the time of falling back by Biddle's and Meredith's brigades, and that the brigades of the Third Division of the First Corps fell back simultaneously. The survivors of the 121st Regiment are about to publish a history of the regiment; and, as a part of Biddle's brigade, would like to have a statement from you confirming their recollection that Biddle's men held out as long as any others of the division, or that the impression given by Comte de Paris is correct. A reply at your convenience will oblige.

Your obedient servant,

W. W. STRONG,

Late Captain Company "E," 121st Regt. Penna. Vols.

MENDHAM, N. J., June 21, 1892.

CAPTAIN W. W. STRONG, late 121st Penna. Vols., Phila.

COMRADE:—I am too ill to leave my room to consult my notes, but I think your view of the falling back is correct.

I write with difficulty, as my fingers are weak and nerveless.

Yours truly,

A. DOUBLEDAY.

PHILADELPHIA, July 2, 1892.

GENERAL:—I wish to thank you for your note of 21st ult. I hesitate to trouble you further in your illness, but would like to know if we are at liberty to quote your letter as verifying our statement that Biddle's brigade maintained its position at Gettysburg July 1, 1863, as long as any other troops, when our history is published.

Yours very truly,

GENERAL DOUBLEDAY,

W. W. STRONG.

Mendham, N. J.

MENDHAM, N. J., July 6, 1892.

CAPTAIN W. W. STRONG.

DEAR SIR:—You can quote me as stated.

Yours truly,

A. DOUBLEDAY.

LOUIS PHILIPPE, COMTE DE PARIS,

OCTOBER 3, 1892.

Stowe House, Buckingham, England.

DEAR SIR:—I enclose herewith copy of some correspondence I have had with General Doubleday in reference to a statement made in

your History of the Civil War, which I have every reason to believe is incorrect. I feel quite sure that when, on investigation, you find it to be so you will not hesitate to do what you can to correct any false impression that may have been created by the passage in question.

As the survivors of the 121st Regiment, one of the regiments of Colonel Biddle's brigade, are about publishing a history of the regiment, it is the intention that some reference shall be made to the statement above referred to, and, before doing so, we would like to have your authority for the assertion that Biddle's brigade fell back, leaving Meredith's left uncovered, or in the event of your finding there is a mistake, must ask that you frankly admit it.

Yours very truly,

WM. W. STRONG,
Late Captain Company "E," 121st Penna. Vols.

STOWE HOUSE, BUCKINGHAM, October 24, 1892.

SIR:—I have received your letter of the 3d instant and the copy of your correspondence with General Doubleday. Unfortunately I cannot make the researches which would be required to give a deliberate answer to your request.

Since I have been exiled from my country, six years ago, I have been leading an erratic life, settling nowhere, as I can have no home far from my native land. In consequence of which I have left at the Chateau d'Eu all the papers, books, notes and documents concerning the History of the Civil War. I can have no access, personally, to them, and nobody except myself could find his way through such a mass of documents. I have, therefore, no means of studying again the incident of the battle of Gettysburg to which you call my attention. I regret it because I aim always to be true in every respect and fair to every one. Believe me, Yours truly,

PHILIPPE, COMTE DE PARIS.

1307 WALNUT STREET, December 16, 1892.

DEAR CAPTAIN STRONG:—I found on my table in town your note of December 10th, which contained news to me.

The position occupied by the brigade consisting of the 121st Pennsylvania, 20th New York, a battery of six pieces, the 142d Pennsylvania and the 151st Pennsylvania, is laid down as a definite line on Batchelder's map of the three days (this map was prepared from data collected on the ground not many days after the battle). To the right of this line was General Langhorne Wister's brigade, which extended as far as the Railroad Cut to the north.

We had been facing to the north and an advance was being made from the north by the rebel forces, and we were under a lively fire of shells, when we were ordered to change front and deploy to the south, facing west; this was done, leaving the 151st in front of the wood, the 142d next to it to the south, the battery of artillery next south of that, the 20th New York (known as the Ulster County Regiment, Major Van Rensselaer and Colonel Gates), and then the 121st Pennsylvania. We had no more than time enough to deploy beyond the 20th New York, face westward and advance a short distance, finding an undisturbed fence before us, and then the rebel line was close to us, and a regiment some 150 yards further off well on our left flank. We remained there until the battery withdrew in safety and no visible line was left.

Lieutenant Herpst and I walked together from the field to the seminary, where we joined Colonel Biddle, Colonel McFarlane, Colonel McCalmont, and others and efforts were made for a stand in front of the seminary. Colonel Cummings had been mortally wounded by a fire from his right.

You see in all this no allusion to Meredith and the Iron Brigade. I know they were in the wood and through it well to the front, doing admirable service. General Meredith told me he lost 70 per cent. of his force in that engagement, and I don't think many were prisoners, but at the particular time of the final assault I know not where they were. Batchelder places them west of the wood. This wood screened the advance of the rebel troops on the 151st, and their numbers burst upon them at close quarters.

I found General Wadsworth on Cemetery Ridge when I arrived there, with his troops around him, ready again for effective service. The troops as they retreated were not disheartened; there was no panic, no unseemly apprehension; their being mixed up together and separated from their proper ranks was the only disorder. On Cemetery Hill that confusion was soon rectified; 82 of the 121st Regiment gathered together, received fresh cartridges from an Eleventh Corps officer of ordnance and were as ready as at first.

Wister's regiments went off towards Culp's Hill to resist a fancied advance; this I think when the sun was not three hours' high. We had had 256 muskets in the field. Yours sincerely, A. BIDDLE.

CAPTAIN STRONG, 121st Regt. Penna. Vols.

J. H. Stine, the historian of the First Corps, writes:—

“The brigades of Biddle, Meredith, Stone and Cutler retired from the advanced position almost simultaneously on the first day at

Gettysburg. A heavy force of the enemy made a flank movement around the left of the corps, hoping to cut off its retreat. In that movement Biddle suffered severely from an enfilading fire, and was compelled to change front to meet it. Being in an open field, the brigade lost heavily, while Meredith's, on its right, was greatly protected by a heavy oak grove. When it was discovered that the enemy, with great superiority of numbers, were attempting to turn both flanks of the First Corps, the Eleventh having been forced back to Gettysburg, it was directed to retire to Seminary Ridge, the brigades of Biddle, Meredith, Stone and Cutler falling back slowly before three lines of battle. The Confederate line overlapped Biddle more than a quarter of a mile, and was held in check by Buford throwing his cavalry into squares."

The circumstances attending the movement of the troops during the first day's engagement at Gettysburg were such that writers might easily be mistaken as to the exact position of the various brigades at stated times. Batchelder's map places Meredith's brigade in an advanced position, with Cutler on his right. It also places Biddle's brigade some distance in rear of and somewhat to the left of Meredith, and Stone's brigade in rear of Cutler. Stine, in his "History of the Army of the Potomac," says Biddle's brigade was posted on Meredith's left *en échelon*.

General Doubleday, at 10.10 A. M., places Meredith north of Willoughby Run, and at 3.30 P. M. some distance south of Willoughby Run, with Biddle on his left and Stone on his right. It would appear as the engagement progressed, that Cutler's brigade worked to the right and rear, that Stone following up this movement and filling the gap between Cutler and Meredith, created a vacancy between his own and Biddle's brigades, in which vacancy Meredith very naturally took his position on falling back from the run, where he had done such glorious work during most of the day.

At no time did Biddle's brigade join Meredith's left in his most advanced position north of or even abreast of Willoughby Run, and for a portion of the day the greater part of Biddle's brigade faced west while Meredith faced north. The advanced position of Meredith left his flank somewhat exposed, and this might have caused him to fall back to the line occupied by the other troops; but certainly Biddle's brigade did not begin its retrograde movement until the whole line, including Meredith's brigade, began to fall back, and no Union troops whatever remained on the field after Biddle's brigade had fallen back to the seminary.

THE YANKEE CHEER AND THE REBEL YELL.

A marked accompaniment of every engagement between the opposing infantry forces, and one of which mention is seldom made, was the triumphant cheer of the Union forces or the exultant yell of the Confederates, indulged in by either side as the victory momentarily favored the blue or the gray, and to those present on the field and to those separated from the view of the contestants by any intervening obstacle, the deep baritone cheer or the high tenor yell was a certain indication of the success or defeat of the Union forces, the cheer frequently being taken up along the whole line of troops, carrying with it enthusiasm sufficient in many cases to complete a victory.

AT FREDERICKSBURG.

Late in the afternoon of December 13, 1862, after the fight, what might have been a serious accident proved to be quite an amusing incident. Just as the regiment had completed its formation preparatory for a rest after its day of hard work, a straggling sergeant, seemingly in search of his regiment, heavily loaded with an immense knapsack, apparently completely worn out and hardly able to drag one foot after the other, came to a halt a few yards in front of the line, unslung his knapsack and unceremoniously took his seat thereon to enjoy a few moments' rest. He was hardly seated, however, when a shell from a rebel battery came plunging along in a direct line in his rear, and, entering the ground a foot or two from him, passed under the knapsack and out in front, throwing the knapsack and sergeant several feet in the air. The sergeant, turning a summersault and coming down on his feet, struck off at a "double-quick," apparently forgetting all about his former fatigue or his worldly possessions.

Our Color-Bearers.

The regiment was fortunate in the selection of its color-bearers. The men appointed to this particularly dangerous post proved, in every case, that they possessed all the necessary qualifications for such an honorable position. Two sets of colors were provided for each of the Pennsylvania regiments, viz., the National flag and the blue infantry flag. Color-Sergeant Eskine W. Hazard, Jr., of Company "D," took charge of the National flag immediately on the organization of the regiment. The infantry flag was placed in charge of Sergeant Wm. Hardy, of Company "B."

The first to relinquish his life on the altar of his country as the bearer of the standard was Color-Sergeant Hazard, who fell at Fredericksburg while gallantly carrying aloft the glorious old flag he defended with his life. Sergeant Hazard, at the time of his enlistment in Company "D," was thirty-five years of age, in the full vigor of the prime of life, with every prospect of an illustrious future. He was the son of an old merchant of Philadelphia, one of its leading citizens. On the death of Hazard, Sergeant William Hardy took his place as the bearer of the National colors.

Wm. Hardy was born at Phoenixville, Pa., in 1830, and lived for a number of years in Reading, Pa., working in the car shops. He was a member of the Ringgold Light Artillery, organized May 21, 1850. In 1860 he moved to Philadelphia, and in April, 1861, enlisted in the 22d Regt. Penna. Vols. for three months, and was honorably discharged with his regiment August 7, 1861, after which he was attached to a government hospital, where he remained until he enlisted in Company "B," 121st Penna. Vols.

Hardy carried the National colors through the various campaigns following the battle of Fredericksburg, facing the music at Chancellorsville, Gettysburg and the Wilderness, Sergeant William Gillespie Graham, of Company "D," taking charge of the blue flag.

Born in Philadelphia, August 10, 1841, Graham was twenty-one years old when he enlisted, full of vigor, a capital soldier, tall, manly, quiet, and true as steel. He was always on the alert to defend his



COLOR-SERGEANT WILLIAM HARDY
And Regimental Colors.

sacred charge and ready to plant it at any spot designated by his commanding officer. During the first day's battle of the Wilderness, May 5, 1864, he bravely met his death defending the colors.

Graham's death was soon followed by that of Color-Sergeant Hardy, who fell a victim to his devotion to the flag at Laurel Hill, Va., on the 11th of May, 1864, brave, generous, loved and lamented by his comrades. While carrying the colors at Gettysburg, the staff was shot into fragments, and he bore the flag and the staff in three pieces off the field when the entire line fell back. While passing through the town of Gettysburg on his way to Cemetery Ridge, he appropriated a shingle, which he picked up in one of the streets, and with it, on reaching his destination, spliced the staff, which was carried in this condition through the remainder of the service. Hardy was thirty-two years of age when he enlisted.

Alfred Clymer, of Company "I," was the next choice for this hazardous position. Young Clymer was of a type largely represented in the regiment. A mere lad, brim full of enthusiasm, fearing nothing and reckless beyond limit, cheerful under the most adverse circumstances, he and his youthful associates, by their song and laughter, their jests and merry pastimes, drove despondency from the heads of their older and more austere companions. At the time he received his fatal wound, June 5, 1864, at Bethesda Church, he was at his post while the regiment was being subjected to a severe fire from the rebel artillery. A solid cannon shot struck him in the leg and carried away a large portion of the flesh. He died from the effect of this wound on the 17th of the following month.

On the death of Clymer, James Bingham Graham, of Company "D," and a brother of Color-Sergeant William G. Graham, who lost his life in the Wilderness, May 5th, was selected to carry the flag, there being at this time but one set of colors, viz.: the National colors; the blue flag having been turned in when the elder Graham lost his life. James B. Graham was born January 27, 1845; enlisted December, 1863. Animated by the same intense patriotism that characterized his daring brother, he seemed determined to carry on that brother's career. He was a plucky fellow, but with less physical strength than his elder brother. Of lighter build than most of his robust comrades, he yet possessed the ambition to vie with them in all important movements of the regiment, that the colors he jealously guarded might always be in the lead. While regretting the loss of his genial companionship, his promotion spread joy throughout the camp. He was commissioned lieutenant in the 214th Penna. Vols. (the Union League Regiment) in March, 1865, and in that regiment he served until the

close of the war. He died in Philadelphia, June 6, 1869, from disease incurred in the hardship of the service.

On the promotion of James B. Graham, Louis Clapper of Company "C," was selected for the post of honor, and well was the task performed. Clapper was another of the Clymer order, and demonstrated his temerity in the prominent part he took in arranging with the men of a Confederate regiment in front of Petersburg to desert and come in a body into the Union line. Had he been detected and captured by the enemy while so engaged, no doubt his life would have paid the penalty. Clapper carried the colors through the balance of the service and had the honor of bringing them back unsullied to the grand old Keystone State that had intrusted them to the care of the regiment.

NARRATIVE OF LIEUTENANT RICH'D A. DEMPSEY OF CO. "E,"
121ST REGT. PENNA. VOLS.

. The narrator of this remarkable story was born in Venango County, Pa., April 26, 1837. After the close of the war he returned to Venango, and became engaged in oil producing and refining until 1882, since which time he has been engaged in the manufacture of high explosives. He has been honored by his fellow-citizens of McKean and Venango Counties by being selected for various positions of honor and trust. He has twice been elected mayor of the city of Bradford.

"In writing this narrative of my capture, confinement and escape from Salisbury prison, I wish to say that so many years have elapsed since that time that the whole matter seems more like a dream than reality; and the absence of dates and the names of those who befriended me on my way to the Union lines, must be accounted for from the fact that I kept no names in full in my diary, as I was liable to be recaptured at any time; and in that event the friends of the Union would have been confronted with the evidence and been most unmercifully dealt with, if they escaped death, such was the hatred of the rebels toward those who befriended an escaped prisoner. I have endeavored, as far as my memory serves me, and from what I could glean from notes kept in my diary, to give a pen picture of my prison-life, which is not overdrawn, knowing that it will not do to portray all the horrors of the prison lest it should destroy credit for the whole story. Those who did not experience what the inmates of rebel prisons did, cannot believe it possible that such cruelty could have been practiced in a civilized country, evidently wishing to forget that slavery had made callous the hearts of the keepers of their prisons, whose notoriety for

cruelty as slave-owners secured them their appointments where they could satisfy their appetites on their helpless captives. Such was the class of men the Confederate Government sought out and appointed as the keepers and guards of its helpless captives; and how well they did their work let the graves at Salisbury, Andersonville and other prisons tell.

“At the battle of Peeble’s Farm I was taken prisoner, at 8.30 on the morning of October 1, 1864, with many others of the regiment. We were sent to the rear of the rebel lines, and marched to Petersburg under guard. On arriving in that city we were stripped of our blankets, tents and haversacks. After this robbing process had been gone through with, and the horrors of the prison-pens of the Confederacy confronting us, we were marched to a building in the part of the city which was being shelled by the Union army, and confined with others who had been as luckless as ourselves. The building was so crowded with prisoners that there was no chance to lie down during the night, and there were no sanitary accommodations. Here, herded together like cattle, we suffered all the pangs of hunger and thirst, several of the prisoners were taken sick, and one died during the night.

“On the afternoon of the 2d we were ordered to fall in to receive our rations preparatory to leaving for Richmond. Several barrels of crackers were placed before us, but they were in such a decayed and mouldy state that even a hog would not have eaten them, let alone human beings. We declined this chivalrous offer with thanks, and as we did so one of the guards remarked that we would be glad to eat them before we got through. We then took up the line of march for Richmond and Petersburg Depot, where we were crowded into a box-car and the train started for Richmond, where we arrived early on the morning of the 3d. From the cars we were taken to Libby Prison, and confined in that noted bastille till the morning of the 4th; from there we were taken to the prison known as the tobacco warehouse, and here the fact that we were prisoners of war began very forcibly to dawn on us. In this prison the searching process, which the rebs had down to a fine art, was gone through with. The prisoners were all put into one of the rear rooms, and about one hundred at a time were brought out into one of the front rooms and formed into four ranks; then the front rank was marched to the front of the line and stripped of all their clothing but their shirts, the pockets, lining, and even the seams in the clothing, being carefully inspected, and all money, watches, pocket-knives and everything which was of any value confiscated by the chivalrous gentlemen, with the consoling remark that they would keep them safe for us, which has been verified in the fact that nothing has

been seen of them since. Myself and several others escaped this inspection, from the fact of their not having time to go through us, as the train which was to take us, we knew not where, was in readiness to leave.

“When we took the cars at Richmond we supposed our destination was Danville, Va., but when we arrived at that place, about noon of the 5th, we changed cars and were run out on the railroad about twelve miles in the direction of Salisbury, N. C., and side-tracked, where we spent the night in the cars. As yet we had had no rations issued to us, and were compelled to subsist on what we could get from the natives, who out of curiosity came to have a look at the horrible Yankees, which was not much, as the guards would not allow them to come near us, even driving the women away, who came there with eatables to sell. We did not suffer much that night for the want of clothing, as the weather was warm. On the morning of the 6th the train was again put in motion, and at 1 P.M. we reached Greenville, N. C. Here we were ordered from the cars and driven like a herd of cattle to a field just outside of town and corralled for the night. It was here that I experienced one of the worst nights during the war. A cold rain was pouring down; without food, blankets, shelter or fire, we were compelled to pass the night as best we could, sleep being out of the question. At this place we could have overpowered the guards and made our escape, but what would it have availed in the end, as we had lost our reckoning and knew not in what direction to go in order to reach the Union lines?

“On the morning of the 7th, at 6 o'clock, faint with hunger, tired and worn out for want of sleep, chilled to the bone with cold and our clothes dripping with water, we were ordered to fall in, and were informed that our destination was Salisbury, N. C. We received the news with what degree of satisfaction men in our condition could derive, and it served to divert our thoughts from that blot on American civilization—Andersonville. We were told that when we reached Salisbury our misery would end. We were to have plenty to eat, shelter and clothes. How this was verified will be seen. After this little speech we were started for the train, the rebel guards ordering us to hurry up in such language as only a rebel could use. Again we were crowded into freight cars, the order was given to start, and we were off for the promised haven, which we reached at 3 P. M. From the cars we were taken directly to the Confederate State prison, which was located in the eastern outskirts of the town. It was a brick structure, 100 x 40 feet, four stories in height, erected, originally, for a cotton factory. In addition to the main building, there were six

smaller ones of brick, which had formerly been tenement houses, and a frame hospital capable of accommodating forty patients. These buildings, which would hold about 500 prisoners, were all filled with Confederate convicts, Yankee deserters, a number of enlisted men of our navy, several United States officers confined as hostages, a large number of Southern Unionists, fifty Northern citizens, and four Northern newspaper correspondents, among them Albert D. Richardson, of the New York *Tribune*.

“The grounds consisted of four or five acres, surrounded with a fence built in the same manner as those around race-courses and fair grounds. On the outside of this fence a scaffolding ran entirely around, on which the guards walked back and forward, it being of sufficient height to allow them to have a full view of the grounds and to shoot with fatal accurateness. In the grounds were a few oak trees, the bark of which we used to make tea of to check diarrhœa. There was a well of water, but it was inadequate to supply the wants of the men, and others were sunk by the prisoners. The prison was under the command of Captain Swift Galloway, a thorough Confederate. Within this enclosure, 10,000 men at one time were confined. We were so crowded for room that we could scarcely move, and when the rain came on, the ground was worked into mud, through which we had to wade, many of the prisoners being barefoot and others with nothing on but shirt and trousers. The men were divided into divisions of from 300 to 400 men, under the charge of a sergeant, and then into squads of 100, they also being under the charge of a sergeant. The duty of the sergeant was to receive the rations for the division, which many times were not sufficient for a squad.

“When we arrived at this place no preparation had been made for us, and my first night there did not serve to impress me very favorably with my future abiding-place; and I resolved, as I had when first captured, to make my escape at the first favorable opportunity. The night was clear, cold and frosty. The promised clothing and shelter failed to materialize, and as to fire we had none, fuel not being obtainable. We lay on the bare ground in windrows, hugged together as close as we could, the warmth of our bodies being the only heat we had to keep our blood in circulation; and when one side got cold the only thing we could do was for the whole crowd to turn over on the other. Here I received the first rations since my capture, which consisted of corn-bread made from meal ground with the cob, such as we used for feeding stock at home. Unsavory as this mess was, hunger compelled me to eat it with a relish, the only fault being there was not enough to satisfy the craving of my appetite. The rations, issued irregularly,

were insufficient to support life. Prisoners eagerly devoured the potato skins thrown out from the hospital kitchen. They ate rats, dogs and cats, while many searched the yard for bones and scraps among the most revolting substances. Rations of rice and pea-soup were issued. The pea-soup was of the worst kind that could be conceived, consisting of the shells of peas from which the bugs had eaten the inside, without any seasoning, the bugs themselves being used as the meat to enrich it. On this diet it could not be expected that anything but disease could fatten. The hospitals were foul pens, dirtier than many of the Northern farmers' stables. The rebs would not furnish brooms to keep them clean, and water and soap to wash the hands; and four of the sick and dying were also denied clean straw to lay under them, as it was not obtainable, though every farmer's barn-yard in that vicinity contained stacks of it. In these pens they were compelled to lie upon the cold, filthy floors, without the warmth and cleanliness usually accorded to brutes.

"The wasted forms and sad, pleading eyes of those men waiting for death to release them from their misery, wanting for the commonest comforts of home and friends, without one word of sympathy or one tear of affection, will never be blotted from my memory.

"The last scene was the dead-cart. Before the mortality became so great among the prisoners, a mule and a wagon containing a coffin was used to convey the dead to their final resting-place. After several dead men had been taken out, some of the men thought the coffin looked rather familiar, and put a mark on it. On the next trip, sure enough, the same coffin made its appearance again. But when the death-rate increased to fifty and sixty a day, this mode of removing the dead bodies was abandoned, and a two-horse wagon was substituted.

Into this the dead forms were thrown one upon another like the carcasses of dead animals, their arms and legs hanging over the sides of the box; the white, ghastly faces, with glassy, staring eyes and dropped jaws, formed a horrible sight never to be forgotten, as the wagon rattled along bearing its precious burden of heroes, who had sacrificed themselves in order that their country might live, to be thrown in a mass into trenches just outside the prison walls and covered with a few inches of dirt. When received, there were no sick or wounded men among the prisoners, but before they had been in Salisbury six weeks there were not five hundred well men among the ten thousand. So great was the mortality in this living tomb that at the end of four months five thousand men had died from disease and starvation, and were buried in trenches outside the prison.



ADJUTANT JOHN IUNGERICH.

“On the 8th, there was nothing to vary the monotony of prison-life, but on the 9th the camp was reinforced by the arrival of one hundred more unfortunates to share our misery. From the 10th to the 16th nothing of an exciting nature transpired, except the death of several prisoners. On the 16th, the first murder that came under my observation was committed. Lieutenant J. W. Davis, while sitting near the dead-line, looking his clothes over for vermin, was shot and killed by a guard. After this, cold-blooded murders were very frequent. The guard, at any time he saw a squad of soldiers collected together, could fire on them without warning, and would receive no rebuke from his superior officers, not even being taken from his post. There was said to be an incentive for these murders, to the end that every guard that shot a prisoner received a thirty-days’ furlough.

“On the 19th, all the commissioned officers were taken out of the prison and sent to Danville, while their places were filled with five hundred privates brought from Danville. On the 23d, R. Lehenthaler, of Company “E,” took sick. On the 24th, the rebs got reckless and gave to each squad two old tents, one a marquee, the other a wedge, which would not accommodate more than one-half of our number, the balance seeking shelter as best they could, which a great number did by digging holes in the ground and crawling into them. I also got a ration of molasses and flour, but had nothing to cook in. On 25th, drew a ration of bread. On the 26th I lived high, having drawn a ration of beef and flour. On the 27th the rebs evidently thought we were living too high and no rations were issued. On the 28th bread was again issued. On the 29th lived high again, bread and meat being issued. On this day a prisoner who was endeavoring to get something to eat from the cook-house was shot and killed. On the 30th we again drew bread. On the 31st the prison authorities, for some cause which has never been explained, issued bread, meat and soup. On November 1st John Pier, of the 4th Pennsylvania Cavalry, and George Wilbur, of the 142d Pennsylvania Regiment, died. From this date I kept no record until November 23d. This was a sad day. I counted eighty-three dead comrades in various portions of the camp and dead-house, and how many more there was God only knows, as I gave up the counting in despair. On the 24th, at 8 A. M., there were twenty-four more dead bodies laying in the dead-house.

“At this time the rations were cut down, and for two days I lived on half a loaf of bread. Among the delicacies issued to us in the way of rations was tripe in a crude state. When the butcher slaughtered cattle for the use of the rebel garrison, the paunches of the beeves were taken out, cut open and were emptied of their contents. They

were then put into barrels and sent into the camp without any further preparation. As I was in command of a squad, it was my duty to cut them up and divide them out. The manner of preparing this delicacy was to put it on the fire, and when it became hot the inside lining would peel off, when it would be eaten with an avidity that was born only of starvation. Later on even the emptying of the paunches was done away with, and the entrails entire, as they came from the beef, were loaded on wheelbarrows and wheeled up an inclined plank on the outside of the fence, and dumped over the fence into the prison, where I have seen hundreds of these poor starving wretches struggling to get a piece of the offal. Quite a number of the sergeants having charge of divisions and squads occupied quarters in one of the buildings, on the second floor, which was reached by means of a ladder through one of the windows.

“We had been arranging a plan to make our escape, and on the 25th concluded that the opportune time had come, as a portion of the rebel garrison had been withdrawn and sent to Wilmington. I was in favor of waiting till night and then go out through a tunnel in which I was interested, but the more hot-headed ones insisted that now was the time. Each commander of a squad was to notify his men of the part they were to take and the duties they were to perform. At 3 p. m. the signal was given, and a number, armed with clubs, sprang upon the relief guard of sixteen men as they were entering the yard, while others rushed on the guards stationed in the grounds. Weak and emaciated as the prisoners were, they performed their work well. They wrenched the guns from the soldiers, and those resisting were bayoneted on the spot. Every gun was taken from them, and they made for their camp outside, where, being reinforced by a rebel regiment on its way to Wilmington, together with the citizens, who had turned out with shot-guns, pistols, or whatever other weapon was the nearest at hand, we were overpowered, though we had captured one of the field-pieces. There was no organized action; several thousand prisoners rushing to one point only, instead of making attempts to break down the fence in different places, thus confusing the guards on the fence. The attempt was futile, as we had neither hammers or axes with which to make an opening in the fence. At once every musket in the garrison was turned upon us, and the two field-pieces opened with grape and cannister. The insurrection, which had not occupied more than a few minutes, was a failure, and the uninjured returned to their quarters. The yard was perfectly quiet then, yet the guards stood upon the fence for twenty minutes, taking deliberate aim and firing into the tents upon helpless and innocent men. Sixteen prisoners

were killed, among them were Comrade Douglass, of our regiment, and sixty wounded, of whom many had no part in the outbreak and many were ignorant of it till they heard the firing.

“On the 26th a ration of one-fourth of a loaf of bread and a little meat was issued to us. On the 27th full rations of bread were issued, and I lived fat for one day. On the 28th 350 men enlisted in the rebel service. I believe the object of the rebels in cutting down our rations was for the purpose of forcing men to enlist in their service, in order to escape the horrible privations which they were forced to undergo in the prison. The main incentive among those who enlisted was that once outside the prison stockade they would have a better chance to make their escape, as many of them did. But among the majority of the prisoners their pride overcame their misery, and they preferred to starve and freeze rather than take an oath of allegiance to the Southern Confederacy. The enlistment of one prisoner I was surprised at, as he had no cause for doing so. He was a miner, and belonged to a Pennsylvania regiment. A party of us had him engaged in digging a tunnel out of the prison, through which we intended to make our escape. We divided our scant rations with him, and he was cared for in every way in which it was possible for us to do so. When the tunnel was finished and ready to tap, he went to the rebel officers and informed them of our plans, pointing out the place where the opening of the tunnel would be when tapped, and also the time when we intended to go out. Among the rebel officers of the garrison was a lieutenant who was a Union man and a member of the Order of the Union League. He came into camp and told us that our plans had been given away, and said for us not to attempt to go out that night. One of our number was placed in such a position that night in the main building that he had a view of where the outlet of the tunnel would be when tapped; and, a short time after dark, a squad of rebel soldiers made their appearance in readiness to shoot us down as fast as we emerged from the hole, but we failed to show up. I am of the opinion he did this to curry favor with the rebel officers, that he might receive favors at their hands, little caring what became of others.

“Another method used by the rebel authorities to induce prisoners to enlist was to pick out from among those who had enlisted certain of them and send them back into camp well dressed and well fed, who would work on the prisoners by telling them how well they were treated by the officers; and as to their clothing, that which was on them would show for itself. Among these was the miner referred to above, thus proving conclusively that he cared not what he did or in what manner it was done so long as he bettered his own condition.

I also believe the rebels introduced recruiting officers into the prison in the guise of Union prisoners, to work on the men by bemoaning and bewailing their sad condition, and saying to them, 'I'll enlist in the rebel service and get out of this cursed place if you will;' and so it went from one to another until they made up their minds that that was the only way in which they would ever get out alive, and so enlisted.

"Got rations again to-day. On the 29th we again drew rations. On the 30th Thomas Scott, of Company 'I' of the regiment, took sick and was sent to the hospital. Drew quarter rations again to-day. On December 2d Daniel Bly, of Company 'F,' 121st Regiment, died. December 4th, drew a ration of potatoes, the first we had received since our confinement here. R. Lehenthaler had so far recovered from his sickness as to sit up most of the time during the day. Henry Cooper, of Company 'I,' died at 10 o'clock to-night of consumption, the technical name for starvation in this God-forsaken place. December 5th, Thomas Scott, of Company 'I,' died at 5 A. M. of fever brought on by exposure to the inclemency of the weather, hunger and want of care and medical attendance. On December 6th four hundred and five prisoners enlisted in the rebel service, and two hundred and fifty more prisoners were brought in from Richmond.

"On December 7th the thirty-one rebel convicts whom we found confined here, when we first arrived, were taken out and sent away. These prisoners belonged to the worst class of criminals one can conceive of. They thought nothing of taking human life, and many deaths of prisoners were attributed to them.

"In the third story of the main building was a sutler's shop, in which the principal articles kept on sale were sweet potatoes, peanuts and bread. These commodities were bartered to the prisoners in exchange for buttons, knives or anything they might have which was of any value. This room was the principal hang-out of the convicts, and when a prisoner went there for a trade, if he had anything these demons wanted, they would 'mug' him and take it away from him. The mugging process was to rush on their victim, and by throwing one arm around his neck, draw his head back, while another pinioned his arms, and the rest then stripped him of whatever he might have that they wanted. If he made any resistance he was carried to the window and thrown out, with less compunction of conscience than were he the dead carcass of some animal. One case of an attempt to mug a prisoner who had a gum blanket which these robbers desired came under my notice. The prisoner in question went to this den to purchase a loaf of bread, when the convicts who were there started for

him ; he kept himself between them and the stairs, and pulling out a large knife which he had managed to keep, defied them while he made his retreat backwards down the stairs. Although they were three to one, they were too cowardly to face cold steel. Finally things came to such a pass that the prisoners determined to tolerate them no longer, and whenever one of them was caught outside the building he was most unmercifully pummelled, in one instance one of them being used for a foot-ball by the exasperated prisoners. Immediately after this incident they were removed, and it is well they were, for had they remained they certainly would have been lynched.

“On December 8th another cold-blooded murder was committed by one of the guards, who fired at three negro prisoners standing in a line, but missed them and killed a man belonging to an Ohio regiment. A howl of indignation went up at this outrage, and one of the surgeons inquired at headquarters as to the cause of this murder, and was told that the guard saw the negroes standing in range, and thinking he would never have such an opportunity, fired at them, but missed them and killed the wrong man. The murder was regarded as a huge joke by the prison officials. The rebel deserters who were confined here were to-day taken to the front to join their commands. On the 13th about 250 more prisoners enlisted into the rebel service to escape the horrors of cold and starvation. On the 14th, 75 prisoners, unable longer to endure the terrible sufferings here, enlisted under the rebel flag. On the 16th, 22 Union prisoners came into camp, and Wauls, of my company, was among them. He was captured at the time the Fifth Corps was sent to Ream's Station, on the Weldon Railroad, to tear up the track. From December 16th to January 15th I kept no diary ; but there was the usual amount of suffering from hunger and cold, the weather being very inclement during that time. On the 15th Harry Engle, of Company “H,” died from sickness caused by starvation and cold.

“January 24th. Oh, what scenes ! Suffering and death stares everyone in the face, and many curses and maledictions are being showered on the Confederacy and the officers of the prison. To-day I answered to a man's name who was sick, and got out in the wood-squad to help load cars with wood for the rebel garrison. My object in going out was to try to make my escape—which I could have done, but I wanted to get Dan Weikel out with me. I did my work well and tried to please the guard in order to get out again to-morrow, in which I succeeded, and will make a desperate attempt to get away. I started with the rest of the wood detail, and when the train was about four miles out from Salisbury it ran off the track in a deep cut.

While the railroad employees were getting the cars back on the track, I proposed to the officer of the guard to allow us to build a fire, as we were all very cold, which request was granted. He sent a guard along with us, and we went out to the far end of the cut. While we were on our way, I whispered to Comrade McFarland, who was going to try to go with me, as Weikel was sick and did not get out with us, 'Stay close by me, as I am going to try and get away.' I said to the guard that Mac and myself would go and pick up some dry cedar limbs to kindle the fire with. Just as Mac and I got to the edge of the woods, a man came along dressed in citizen's clothes, which was a very rare sight in that part of the country. He drew the attention of the prisoners and guard, and inquired the way to Salisbury. I tried to tell him, but could not, and referred him to the guard, who turned his back toward us in order to point out to the stranger the direction he should take to reach the town. The moment his back was toward us Mac and I started for the woods without any further ceremony; and I often wonder if that guard is still waiting for us to bring those cedar limbs to kindle that fire. After traveling all day in the woods we came in sight of the railroad, sixteen miles from where we started, and the train we had left in the morning passed by us on its way to Salisbury at 6 P. M. Here commenced a journey of hundreds of miles in the dead of winter, through a country the topography of which we knew nothing. Thinly clad and almost barefooted, we started out with the determination to reach the Union lines or perish in the attempt.

"Surrounded by enemies on all sides who would have been only too glad to have returned us to prison, we knew that our success lay only in being able to elude them. Knoxville, Tenn., was our objective point, and we chose that route because we could keep in the mountains, and thus avoid the danger of being recaptured which the more open country would afford. At dark we started out along the railroad track and traveled until near midnight, when we reached the house of a Union lady named Mrs. Hare, where we found food and warmth, which we were sadly in need of, and where we were well taken care of until the night of the 28th, when we left at ten o'clock in company with her son, who piloted us to a path which ran along the ridge of the mountains, and which would take us to a Union man's place by the name of Wilburn, who was a lieutenant in the rebel service, but a staunch friend to escaping prisoners, many of whom he helped along on their way north.

"During the night we strayed from our course and got lost in the woods. We finally emerged from the woods about two o'clock in

the morning, and came out on a plantation, near the negro quarters, in one of which was a light, and on going to the door we found a negro woman engaged in ironing. She was the only treacherous-looking colored person I saw on the route, and I distrusted her at first sight. I afterwards learned that my suspicions were correct; and that she had given several Union men away. I kept between her and the door, and had she attempted to give an alarm, I would have choked her to death. By doing some good talking I finally got into her good graces, and she cooked for Mac and myself one of the best meals I had eaten in two years, after which she woke her father up and he put us on our course again. On the morning of the 29th, we came to a village called Slabtown, where we inquired the way to Wilburn's; after getting the desired information, we traveled on till ten A. M., when the rebs got too thick and we had to run to cover. A colored man named Richard Roseburn secreted us in a barn, and furnished us with food. Here we were in very close quarters, and did not know what minute the rebs would take a notion to search the barn, as we could hear and see them through the cracks. On the 30th we left our colored friend at 4 A. M., and his son Henry piloted us on to Mr. Lundy's plantation, where we lay on a side hill during the day and at night sought shelter in the barn. Here we were also supplied with food. We remained here till midnight of the 31st, when we left with a colored guide named Carson, who had been referred to us while hid in Roseburn's barn. Carson had a mule, and by taking turns at riding, we made Carson's plantation, a distance of sixteen miles, shortly after daylight, where we were provided with breakfast. We hid in the woods during the balance of the day, and at night the darkies entertained us, while Carson at the same time was playing host to a rebel colonel. That night we slept in the barn. This man Carson had twenty-six children and grandchildren, all of whom were slaves.

"At noon, with one of Carson's slaves—known as Squire John through the country, and who, by the way, was a regular masher among the white women—as a guide, we started for Bell's plantation, some ten or twelve miles from Carson's. While on the way, for the first and only time in my life, I was put on exhibition, and that, too, under the management of Squire John, who wished to show a couple of his mashes a real, live Yankee. Mac and I consented to remain in the woods while he went for the women, with whom he soon returned, and we stood up for inspection. These women looked us over from head to foot, walked around us, and then stopped in front of us, neither Mac or myself speaking. When they

had concluded their survey, I asked one of the women what they thought of us, anyhow; she replied that she did not see that there was any difference between us and other men. After the exhibition was over we went on and reached Bell's plantation, where we hid in the barn until the night of the 3d of February, when a Union woman came four miles through a blinding snow-storm to give us warning that the rebel guards were on our track. I lost the name of the woman, but remember that she was the sister of a Union scout named Johnson, who piloted many prisoners to the Union lines. While we were hid in the barn, for fear that the rebels would find out that we were there, Bell conveyed our food to us in a half-bushel measure, as if he were feeding live-stock, and would set it down in a convenient place and appear to be busying himself with his work around the barn. We would crawl out from under the straw and get the food, when Bell would take the half-bushel and leave.

"We left our hiding-place in a snow-storm and took to the woods, and while there the rebs came along and passed by. We then came out of the woods and followed them all night. When they left a house we went in. At one house, where they had just left, we were met at the door by an old, gray-haired man, who, on learning that we were escaped prisoners, threw up his hands and implored us for God's sake to leave, as the rebs had just been there, and if they should come back and find us they would kill him for harboring Union prisoners, as they had warned him to that effect. I think he was the worst-frightened man I ever saw. On the morning of the 4th we reached Lieutenant Wilburn's plantation. Here we had a narrow escape from capture. The road made a sudden turn and shut off the view in front, and almost before we knew it we were on top of the rebs, who had halted and tied their horses to the fence around the bend. One of the horses gave a snort and that was what saved us. I crept forward to reconnoitre and saw the rebs, some of whom were lying on the ground, while others were around and in Wilburn's house. I went back to where I left Mac, and as the ground was covered with snow, and in order that the guards might not discover our tracks, we waded down a little stream into the woods, keeping the scrub pines that grew along the banks between the rebs and ourselves. After we had gained the cover of the woods, Wilburn came out to an old barn that stood between us and the house and I went to him, little thinking at the time the risk I was running, keeping the barn and the scrub pines between myself and the rebs, and when I had got his attention I gave him the sign of the Union League. His first salutation was, 'My God! what are you doing here? The rebs are after me; hide as soon

as you can.' He then went towards the house and Mac and myself went further back into the woods, but saw the rebs capture him. After they had made him a prisoner, they commenced firing off their guns, which badly frightened us, as we thought they were going to scour the woods, but it was only the signal calling in their pickets, and they rode off, taking Wilburn along, without suspecting there were any escaped Union prisoners so near them.

"Wilburn was one of the officers of the garrison at Salisbury, and knowing that I intended to make my escape at the first opportunity, had given me directions as to the route to take in order to reach his place, as well as the names and location of those who were friendly to the Union cause and who would assist me on my way. He had left the rebel service and gone home, and the rebel force we had followed during the night had been sent out to arrest him; but I afterwards learned that he made his escape again that night, but whatever became of him after that I never could find out.

"We remained in the woods all that day, and at night started for Nick's plantation, but got lost, and started back for Wilburn's place in order to get our reckoning again. While we were tramping along we heard some one halloo to us. We were frightened, and so did not answer. Again we were hailed, when the party said 'it was all right,' and concluding there was but one person we went forward and found it was Squire John, the same darkey who had piloted us from Carson's to Bell's. He piloted us to several Union houses, avoiding the rebs, who were very thick, and finally took us to Nick's. But we concluded to go on to another Union man's place by the name of Wagner; but on reaching there we were informed that it was not safe to stop there, and we retraced our steps back to Nick's, where we remained all night. We remained in this locality for a week, the rebs being so thick that it was unsafe to make a start. While here we met a Union man by the name of Smith, who was hiding from the rebs. He took us to his father-in-law's, a Mr. Wagner. This man had prepared for an emergency by having a framework erected in a hay-stack out in the field, which was used by Smith and others as a hiding-place. To this hay-stack Smith conducted Mac and myself, and asked us if we could see anything out of the ordinary about it. We replied that we did not, and he said, 'Follow me.' We did so, and found ourselves in a comfortable room provided with bedding. We stayed there for several days, endeavoring at night to get across the Big Yadkin River, but it was so closely guarded that it seemed almost next to impossible. While here we learned of a Union lieutenant named Hartley, who belonged to the 3d North Carolina Regiment of Mounted Infantry,

commanded by Colonel Kirk, who was a native of that State. He was on an expedition recruiting for his regiment, and also for piloting refugees to Tennessee. Through the efforts of Mr. Smith, Lieutenant Hartley was notified that we were hiding there and endeavoring to get across the river. He sent us word to meet him, which we did. He informed us that on the following night, February 11th, he was going to have all the recruits and refugees rendezvous at the house of a Union man, whose name I have forgotten, and would make an effort to cross the river, and would be pleased to have us join him, which we were only too glad to do. After the recruits and refugees had arrived, numbering between forty-five and fifty, at midnight we went to the river, but found all the boats closely guarded. Finding we could not get a boat, a council of war was held, and we decided to make the attempt to wade the river. It was a very chilly undertaking, as the weather was intensely cold and slush ice was running very thick. It was decided that Lieutenant Hartley (who by the way was one of the bravest men I ever met) and myself should take the lead, which we did, and all got over safely, which we afterwards learned was a very lucky hit, as the ford was a narrow one and on each side was very deep water. As it was, the water was up to our waists, and it was but a short time after we crossed before our clothes were frozen stiff. In this condition we walked on the crust of the snow some four or five miles up on a mountain, where we found friends, who soon had large fires going, where we got ourselves thawed out and our clothes dried, staying until night, when we again started on our tramp for liberty, which we kept up for several nights, laying by in the day-time.

"At one time, at the crossing of one of the many rivers that we had to cross, we were almost surrounded by the rebs, who, as we were informed, intended to capture us as soon as we were located for the night, little thinking that we could get across the river, as it was very high. But we fooled them by getting an old dug-out and a Union man, who ferried us across the river early in the evening, under cover of a dense fog. As soon as we were across we started up the mountain, following a stream that came down the mountain, which was a very hard undertaking, as the water was deep and we had to wade it most of the way. On arriving at the top of the mountain we found a Union man, where we built fires and dried our clothes. Later on, tiring of skulking and stealing along by night, we determined to travel by daylight. The country around was scoured, and all the old guns, or anything that looked like a gun, that could be found was made to do duty. Under Lieutenant Hartley and a sergeant named Blackwell, we started on our march, whenever it was necessary representing



FIRST LIEUTENANT RICHARD A. DEMPSEY

ourselves as belonging to Colonel White's rebel regiment, which was quite notorious in that portion of North Carolina, and got along very well. During the day we met a citizen, who was a very strong reb; he joined in and marched with us until we got him into a dense woods, a long distance from where he fell in with us, when Lieutenant Hartley, after getting all the information from him regarding the movements of the rebs he was possessed of, concluded to let him know who we were. We took his gun and other arms from him, made him take the oath of allegiance to the government, and then turned him loose. If ever there was a surprised man that Johnny was one.

"In the evening, during a snow-storm, we reached Lieutenant Hartley's native place, a little town called Boone. Here our guns, not one of which would go off without it was carried, served us a good turn. There was quite a garrison of reb soldiers stationed here, and as we came in at one end of the town, they skedaddled out of the other for the woods, thinking it was the advance of Colonel Kirk's Union command, of whom the rebs in that vicinity stood in mortal fear. We marched through the main street of the town to the outer edge, where a halt was called. Lieutenant Hartley called myself and another escaped prisoner, named Joe McBride, to him, and, pointing to a large white house a short distance away, told us to go there and get provisions for the party, saying, 'Mr. Hayes lives in that house; he is rich and a d—d old reb.' He then handed McBride his Spencer rifle, and we started for the house. While McBride stood ready with the rifle, in case of emergency, I went up to the door and rapped, and was told to come in. I opened the door, and McBride and I went in, and found Hayes and his two daughters alone, who were very much frightened till we told them that we belonged to Colonel White's command, which greatly relieved them. Hayes asked for the colonel, and we told him he would be along the next day. Hayes said he was glad to hear that, as he thought we were from Hartley's notorious gang. Another instance of 'where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise.' I asked him who this man Hartley was, and he replied that he was one of the most notorious Union guerillas in the Southern Confederacy, and that the Confederate government had a standing reward of \$10,000 for his head and that he would give \$1,000 for Hartley's head himself. I made the reply that we would try and get it for him. He asked me if we wanted quarters; we told him no, but wanted provisions. He asked me if we wanted meal, and we replied that we had plenty of that, which was a fad; we wanted meat. He lit his lantern, and we went out toward the smoke-house. On the way he wanted to know who would pay for the meat, and we told him

we would give him an order on the regimental commissary, and he would get his pay when the regiment came up the next day, which was satisfactory to him. I called a couple of men, and we got what bacon we wanted. Along the sides of the smoke-house hung some dried beef, and one of the men asked him if he would not give him a piece of it. I said, 'Let the boys have some of it without charging the government for it.' He told us to help ourselves, which we did, clearing the whole lot of it out. As we were leaving for the house to make out the order for the meat, who should we find standing by the smoke-house door but Lieutenant Hartley. Hayes, who was in the lead, saw him first, and was so frightened that he fell back against the smoke-house. Lieutenant Hartley told him to get up, that he did not intend to hurt him. He then made Hayes take an oath of allegiance—of his own composition—to help all escaped prisoners, refugees, rebel deserters and negroes needing assistance, and not to divulge that we had been there, winding up by saying, 'If you do, I'll kill you; and you know, Mr. Hayes, I never lie;' to all of which Mr. Hayes readily assented. As to that reward for Hartley's head offered by Hayes, I did not think of it after Hartley made a Union man of him, or I should have claimed it, and I believe he would have paid it readily, as he was so badly scared by Hartley.

"Here we left the main road, and took a path which went up a mountain through a dense pine woods, traveling being difficult on account of the snow, which was falling thick and fast. Near midnight we reached an old lumber camp, where a number of Union families had taken refuge. Fires were started in the unoccupied buildings, where we warmed our benumbed limbs and cooked and made our supper off of Mr. Hayes' bacon. We remained here the balance of the night, and the next morning resumed our tramp again. When we reached Little Village, situated in the valley, we heard firing, and supposed that Hayes had disregarded his oath and informed on us, and that the rebs had got in front of our party and were firing on Lieutenant Hartley, who had gone on in advance to see if the road was clear. The firing proved to be Union and reb scouts, who had come together and had a running fight. While in this place we learned of two reb soldiers who were home on furlough. Lieutenant Hartley suggested that McBride and myself should go and capture them. Each of us took a gun and went up the valley to a point where they were cutting wood, and when we called on them to surrender they were much surprised, little dreaming that any Union forces were within many miles of them. We marched them back with us to Lieutenant Hartley, who kept them prisoners with us during the remainder of the day. Our route lay up

another mountain, through a thick wood, and when night came on we had reached the summit of the mountain. Here Lieutenant Hartley administered to the two prisoners one of his double-and-twisted oaths, and turned them loose to find their way back as best they could in the dark. Some of our party thought it was rather cruel to treat them in this manner, but Lieutenant Hartley said by the time they got home and gave an alarm, which they would most likely do, we would be so far in advance of them that they could not overtake us. Without halting we kept on, and descended the mountain into the valley, through which runs Big Mulberry Creek. We went to the house of a Union man named Wagner, whom we found sick in bed from the effects of the rough usage he had been subjected to at the hands of a party of rebs because he was a Union man and had been charged with aiding Union men and rebel deserters to make their way to the Union lines. When we entered the house and he found that it was Lieutenant Hartley, he jumped out of bed, saying, 'Thank God, the rebs did not kill me or get all my provisions.' He then told us where we would find plenty to eat, and to help ourselves, which we did, and it was no small amount either, as our company was very hungry and consisted of about seventy, as many recruits and refugees joined us on the way.

"From Wagner's we continued our march toward Knoxville, over mountains covered with snow, the crust of which was so hard it would bear our weight, and in descending, many of the boys slipped and slid for a long distance before they could stop themselves by catching hold of the underbrush; but there were no murmurings or complaints, as each one knew that the ascent and descent of each mountain brought them nearer the Union lines and further away from the hell upon earth from which we had escaped. After two days and nights of hard marching we reached Limestone Cave. Here we lay by for two days to rest ourselves after the fatigue occasioned by the hard work we had experienced in crossing the mountains. At this place, as in others where we had stopped, we found Union people, who supplied us with necessary food and shelter. Continuing our march from Limestone Cave, we came to Leeper's Mills, a fording-place on the Natchuckey River. The river was bank full and a swift current was running, and we were unable to ford it. While searching for something that would answer the purpose of a ferry, a most violent thunder-storm came on. Finally we found a dilapidated old dug-out, and Mac and myself acted the part of ferrymen, landing the entire party on the opposite side after several trips, the thunder and lightning at that time and place having no terrors for us.

“On the evening of the second day after leaving Leeper’s Mills (nothing of a notorious character occurring during that time) we reached the Union lines at Strawberry Plains, Tenn. Here we found an Ohio regiment doing guard duty at a bridge there, and by whom we were most royally received. It is useless to attempt to describe my feelings and emotions when we first caught sight of the Stars and Stripes; and could the rebel garrison at Salisbury have heard the cheers that went up from that little company of men, who for weeks had been enduring sufferings of an untold nature in order to escape them, they must have hung their heads for very shame, although shame to them was an unknown quantity. Here we remained over night, the guests of the Ohio regiment; and night was far advanced when we lay down to sleep, so eager were the boys in blue to hear us recount the horrors of Salisbury and the many dangers we had passed through in making our escape. The next day we went to Knoxville, where we were supplied with clothing. Here adieus were said, and we parted company with the brave Lieutenant Hartley and his noble band, who had been our companions for weeks during our wanderings over mountains and through valleys, all actuated with one common desire—to escape from rebel rule. We remained in Knoxville over night, and the next day we were furnished with transportation and took a train for Nashville. On our arrival Mac and myself went to the Sanitary Commission, but the gentleman in charge of that institution said that they were full and could not give us accommodations. I then went to commissary headquarters and was given an order to report to the Sanitary Commission. While at the commissary, some one told Mac that the provost-guard would take care of him; and as he was rather indignant at the conduct of the gentleman in charge of the Sanitary Commission, he would not wait for my return with the order, and reported to the provost-marshal, where he was put under guard, and that was the last I ever saw of him. As for myself, not relishing the idea of being sent back to the regiment under guard like a deserter or a bounty-jumper, after my experience, I took the order and reported to the gentleman in charge of the Sanitary Commission. When he read it, he suddenly remembered that he had plenty of room, and had I been a major-general instead of an escaped prisoner he could not have been more attentive and servile. While in Nashville I reported to General Thomas, who was in command there, and was courteously received by his adjutant-general. While waiting for him to make out the order for my transportation, he called the headquarter’s cook and instructed him to get dinner for me, and I had the pleasure of dining at his table. As soon as I obtained my order for transportation I took

a train for Louisville, and on arrival there I did not seek out the provost-marshal, Mac's experience in Nashville having taught me better, but went to the headquarters of General Lew Wallace, where I was furnished with transportation to Washington *via* Indianapolis and Pittsburgh, arriving at Washington some time in April. Here I reported to General Meigs, who was commissary of prisoners, and was furnished an order to report to my regiment, with thirty days' delay on the route, which I improved by making a visit to my home, joining the regiment soon after Lee's surrender."

Prison Life in Dixie.

That portion of the regiment that was captured on the 1st day of October, 1864, at Poplar Grove Church, or, as it is sometimes called, Peeble's Farm, after being broken up into two or more squads, was sent by various routes to Salisbury, N. C., the officers being separated from the men and sent *via* Libby Prison, Richmond. After remaining at Salisbury until October 19th, the officers were sent to Danville, Va.

The gloomy structure at Danville, in which the Union prisoners were confined, was an abandoned tobacco warehouse, built of brick, and three stories high, standing on the outskirts of the town, some two hundred yards from the banks of the Dan River. No other building joined it except a small one-and-a-half-story building, about fifteen feet square, unoccupied, which stood joining the south side next the river and near the east end of the warehouse. The warehouse was probably thirty-five feet wide by about seventy-five feet long, and in the second and third stories were confined some five hundred prisoners, mostly officers of the Union army and navy. There was free intercourse between the rooms on the second and third floors, but prisoners were not allowed on the first floor, except in squads of perhaps five or six at a time. Several sentries located on the first floor enforced this rule. That the prisoners were well crowded together is not hard to imagine. At night the men selected places along both sides and ends of the rooms, and in a double line, with heads inward, along the middle to make room to sleep. A large portion of the space on the west end was taken up by the stairway. Although the quarters were not at all comfortable, the prisoners were not disappointed and no complaints were heard, for they were infinitely better than the miserable arrangement at Salisbury, where their comrades were, even then, suffering not only for food but for shelter also. The rations consisted mainly of about a pint of black pea soup twice a day, accompanied with a very small piece of corn bread, the latter being so coarse and hard as to be indigestible, and the soup never nutritious and often filthy. Under these circumstances, many fell victims to disease, and as they became dangerously ill were removed to hospitals, so that their comrades lost sight of them.

A number of efforts at escape were made, but, except in a few individual cases, they failed, owing to the close watch kept by the guards. The prisoners were counted twice a day. The officer in charge, accompanied by several guards, would enter the room on the second floor and order the men to "fall in" in four ranks, which was promptly done, the ranks extending from one end of the room to the other; every man in the front rank being exactly covered by three men standing behind. Then, passing from one end to the other, he would count the men in the front rank, and multiplying by four, would know how many were present in that room. Going to the third floor, the same process would be repeated.

During the cold winter nights, the men slept as closely together as possible in "spoon fashion" in order to keep warm and, when any one man in the line found it necessary to turn over, the whole line had to turn. This turning became very frequent, for the shoulders and hips of the men became sore from sleeping on the bare floors. Fresh water was plenty, owing to the fact that the prisoners were compelled to bring their supply as needed from the river. This was rather a pleasant duty; details of from six to ten prisoners were sent under guard, each man carrying one or two buckets. These trips served to destroy the monotony of prison life, and there was always a lively competition for the privilege of going with the detail.

Close to the river bank was an abandoned iron furnace, which was passed daily in these trips, and the men were not long in appreciating it as a medium of escape. As time wore away, and the guards and prisoners became more familiar, it was noticed that in sending the detail out, instead of counting the men, the buckets only were counted, which count was repeated when they were returned. Taking advantage of this, while passing the furnace on the return trip, the guards being in friendly chat at the head of the line, as usual, and the prisoners loitering behind to make their excursion in the open air as long as possible, one of the men handed his single bucket to a comrade who had also but one, and then quietly slipped into the aforesaid furnace, the balance of the detail going on and returning the necessary number of buckets unchallenged. As the prisoners were counted twice every day by the officers in charge, it became necessary to devise some means to keep the count straight to conceal the fact that any one had escaped, and so resort was had to a system of repeating. A hole was cut through the floor of the third story, at the northeast corner, and that day the men of the third floor were unusually punctual in falling into ranks, so as to hide from the officer the operations about this corner. As he came up stairs after completing his count on the

second floor, the line already formed, stood between him and the hole referred to, so that a man was quickly pulled through without being detected, and this was repeated every time the men fell in to be counted. This arrangement worked so nicely that within the next day or two another had escaped by means of the furnace, and still another a day after, and the little game went quietly on, until probably seven or eight had taken "French leave;" and for every one who escaped an additional man had to be hustled through the hole in the floor, in order to keep up the count. As the same men went through this latter process every day, they became quite proficient, and the way they got up through that hole was anything but convincing of the fact that prison life had deprived them of their former activity. Too much time could not be consumed in this transfer, as there was always more or less danger of being discovered, and the operation had to be completed before the main body of the prisoners had finally arranged themselves in ranks; but by some of the men shifting from place to place, and keeping up a general shuffling of feet, talking, coughing, etc., the confusion was always kept up until the shooting of blue jackets from the second to the third floor was completed. Finally, to the dismay of the prisoners, one of the men who had escaped was recaptured and brought back, having been taken somewhere in the vicinity of Richmond. While the authorities were badly puzzled to know how he had escaped, they were equally puzzled to understand why the escape had not been discovered through the careful counting so frequently by the officer in charge. By a new system of counting, it was then discovered that the best part of a dozen Yanks had dispensed with prison hospitality.

Some of the prisoners conceived the idea that a tunnel could be constructed from the cellar of the prison to a point under an old barn which stood some fifty feet distant. In order to get into the cellar and avoid the sentinels on the first floor, a hole was knocked through the brick wall just above the level of the floor of the second story, making an entrance into the loft of the small building which stood joining the south side of the prison. Tearing up the floor of this building an entrance was made into the cellar from which the tunnel was started, and, after many days of patient labor, was nearly completed; but getting too near the surface before the barn was reached, one of the rebel sentries broke through, and of course gave the alarm. An investigation was made at once although in the middle of the night, and going into the cellar the prison officers picked up at the mouth of the tunnel several articles used by the workers and left by them in their hurried flight, including a knife, spoon and tincup, the latter bearing the name

of its owner. When the guard came into the room all hands were in their proper places, and, of course, sound asleep, and there was no indication that any guilty parties were present. The man whose name was on the tincup was awakened, after several efforts, and accused of attempting the escape. He stoutly denied the charge, and when confronted with the fact that his cup was found in the cellar, readily recognized the cup, and claimed it had been stolen from him several days before. As his story was not at all improbable, it being quite likely a "Yank" might steal anything, it remained a mystery as to who the parties were.

Another unsuccessful effort at escape was followed with sad results. A regiment, seemingly just arrived at Danville, had stacked arms in the street a short distance from the prison and in full view of those within, the soldiers scattering, leaving the guns entirely, without even a single guard. It was arranged, under the lead of Colonel Duffie, a cavalry officer, that the prisoners, after overpowering the inside sentinels on the first floor, and getting the door opened from the outside, under pretense that a detail was going for water, should rush out, disarm the two or three sentinels around the door and seize the guns left unguarded. The several guards on the first floor were quietly disarmed, Colonel Duffie personally managing one of them and unceremoniously rapping the back of his head on the floor, with threats of what would be done if alarm was given. The call was given for the door to be opened for the detail. The door was indeed opened, but by some means the outside guard had been alarmed, and instead of finding one or two at the post, the whole guard had been mustered, and was ready to receive the jail-breakers, who were driven back with bayonets and a scattering volley. One life, that of Colonel Ralston, who died a day or two after the shooting, paid the penalty of this attempt to secure liberty.

Quite a large number of officers, including those of the 121st Regiment, were paroled in the early part of February, and sent *via* steamer to Annapolis, Md., the exchange being effected in time to enable them to reach the regiment before its return to Richmond, but too late to participate in the final engagements on the Appomattox.

EXTRACT FROM A NARRATIVE OF ONE WHO WAS SERIOUSLY
WOUNDED AT GETTYSBURG.

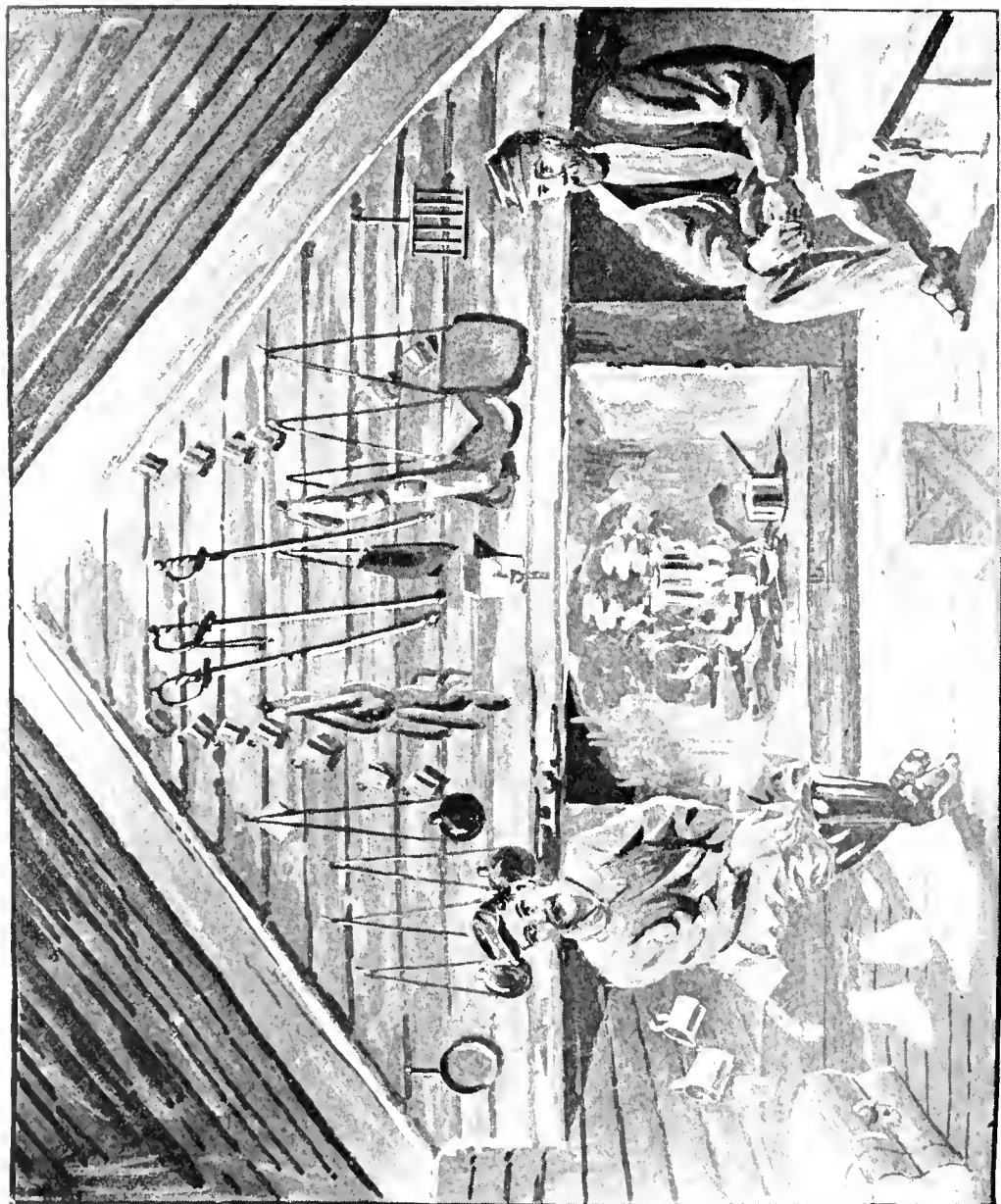
"When the crest of the hill was reached, the regiment was ordered to lie down. I, on one knee, with my gun cocked and ready to fire, was slowly rising when I was shot through the neck, the minie ball entering on one side and passing out the other. I arose to my feet

and walked some fifty or one hundred yards to the rear. My strength soon failed and I lay down, thinking I was bleeding to death. Hearing some low groans, I looked up and saw Harry Gouldy, a young private of Company "E" with whom I had tented, coming towards me, holding his wounded arm. He passed me a step or two, then turned back, and pausing under fire, horrified at his friend's condition, urged me to 'come out of this.' I shook my head, as I could not speak; I had difficulty of breathing. The affairs of this world seemed to lose their importance. I had a dim thought that mother would be sorry. I ceased to care which way the victory went. My thoughts were concentrated on the hereafter; I wanted to see how it went to die. When, after fainting, I opened my eyes, I did not see the angels and the hereafter as I had fully expected, but I saw a fence, and as I had never heard that fences were used in Paradise, and as I knew they were used on earth, I concluded that, at any rate, I was not dead yet. I opened my eyes on the fences and the grass and the dying day perhaps two hours before sunset. All was quiet. Soon a plump boy, a Confederate straggler, of about fifteen, came up to me and asked me if I wanted a drink. I raised upon one arm and half emptied his canteen. He asked me if I would not give him my penknife. I had an old, cheap one, which I parted with readily, which I did not want as I knew I was going home, *i. e.*, to Philadelphia. I had changed my mind about dying.

"The next that came up to me was a devil of the Wilkes Booth type, only infinitely worse. I didn't recognize him when I saw him—it took me fifteen or twenty years to do that. He looked something like Mephistopheles in Faust. I saved my life by an untruth; this I found out about six years ago upon reading Judge Tourgee's 'Bricks Without Straw,' etc. I did not dream of it at the time.

"Perhaps his first words were: 'Aint you ashamed of yourself, coming down here driving us from our homes?' I didn't suggest or think of suggesting that this was Pennsylvania. I ignored his mistake, knowing that he referred to the fact that our armies were ravaging the South.

Six years ago I realized how it was he made the mistake. It was a formula that he used on many a former occasion to get up his devilish courage to the proper point. But in 1863 I only regarded the man with mild surprise and wondered what the mischief was the matter with him. Had one gleam of the truth quivered around the margin of my comprehension; had the slightest sign of quailing appeared in my mind, it would have, as with a tiger facing its foe, called forth the missing courage to deliver the fatal cut and leave one more to be



INTERIOR VIEW LIEUT. GARSED'S WINTER QUARTERS, CAMPAIGN 1862 AND 1863.

Sketched by Lieutenant W. W. DORR, Company K, 121st Reg't P. V.

reported as 'killed in action;' when the truth would have been 'murdered'—murdered by a cowardly, cold-hearted, blood-thirsty villain.

"When the bullet struck me, it jarred my body as a blow on the neck with a fist. I felt it enter my neck and I did not feel it go out, so I thought it was still there. This misconception saved my life for the second time. In reply to his question I said 'Oh, I don't know,' and then came another tirade, ending with a question, to which, as he waited for an answer, I said again that I didn't know, but that I didn't care to talk politics with a bullet through my throat. Then he said 'Is the bullet still in your throat?' and I said yes; and he, after a little time, and after kicking my full cartridge-box contemptuously, and saying 'We have plenty of these,' as well as of everything else, and how they were soon going to whip us, asked me if I could walk, and when I said I thought I could, said he would send up for me, and walked away. I had escaped from the tiger's jaws. He thought he would wait until the next morning, when the bullet would have to be taken out. Two of the ambulance corps came for me and I stood up and with each one holding an arm, I tried to walk. It was no use. After the first step or two I had no legs at all, they seemed about as useful for walking as wet rags, so the two went away and four came with a stretcher. I was so spry in getting up and lying upon it, full length, that they were inclined to grumble and doubt my inability to walk. However, we reached a corner of the field where there were a dozen or two of our wounded, arranged in rows, and I passed the night comfortably enough. I do not know how it was I had a blanket; we had, before the fight, unslung our knapsacks, and I, of course, lost mine.

"July 2, 1863.—I got up, moved around a little, and perhaps took a wash. My devilish friend was still on the watch for me. He inquired after the bullet. I had made a discovery during the night, and found to my surprise, two holes instead of one, one of which had, I knew, been made by the bullet on its exit, and when I told him, he glared at me and asked 'Why, I thought you told me it was still in your neck,' in as savage tone as I ever heard. I would like those who would smile incredulously at the conclusion to which, after the fullest consideration I have come, as to what was passing in his mind, to account for that tone and manner on any other theory. It puzzled me for fifteen years or more, contrasting as it did with the absolute kindness I received on every side. Every one else could not have been kinder. Judge Tourgee's works were a revelation to me and solved one of the problems of my life. What was the matter with that doctor, that he

should be so different from all the rest? I bid him and his accommodations good-bye and started out to find a hospital, as our shells began to fly around us. It was a most bewildering thing to be under the fire of your own batteries—that is, to find your front in your rear, and I have never been able to make up my mind as to the direction I took. A group of mounted officers spoke kindly to me and asked me many questions. One of them, in contrast with my doctor friend, risked his life to accommodate me. I was very weak and a short rise was a terror to me. I asked him to carry my blanket to the top of the hill. The shells were flying around them pretty lively, and as he leaned over to take the blanket out of my hand, we heard one coming low over our heads. He did not flinch, and I felt safe enough as long as his head remained on his shoulders. It cleared him, I am glad to say, passing, as I had judged it would, about three feet over his head and striking the ground some twenty yards away. He rode off and rejoined his brother officers, signalling back to me as he dropped my blanket when he gained the top of the hill. Over a broad expanse of level, the shells flew thickly and I concluded to seek shelter, choosing, in much doubt as to its being any good, a huge tree and lay down behind it.

Here another straggler picked me up and asked if I had any coffee to give him. I never used my full rations of coffee and so had a bag full, which I had saved, and which I let him have. I have now a silver watch which was in my pocket, and which was during these days unmolested. He carried my load, and left me at nightfall outside the hospital; I slept in the garden alongside of a fence. The next morning I reported in the farm-house. I was assigned to a second-story front room, bare except a bedstead minus all but the frame. Six or eight wounded Union men were there, one poor fellow, a sergeant, begging to have his leg cut off. A bullet had lodged in his ankle, but the rebel surgeons were working like bees cutting off the limbs of their own wounded. They gave us two corn cakes, baked on a griddle, about two inches in diameter and half an inch thick, morning and evening. Upon this and water we throve. We throve best after listening to the dreadful cannonading of the 3d, when some of them admitted to us in our room that after Pickett's charge the "stone-wall" was on the wrong side this time. Their depression was very apparent and very decided. A Texan, because he had some glorious times in Philadelphia, when he was a medical student there, and who thought there were no ladies like those of Philadelphia, offered me (I being from Philadelphia), freely of his whiskey, which was then selling at \$10 per canteenful. He admitted that the South had been a

little hasty, and he regretted we could not drink together always instead of having to fight again on the morrow.

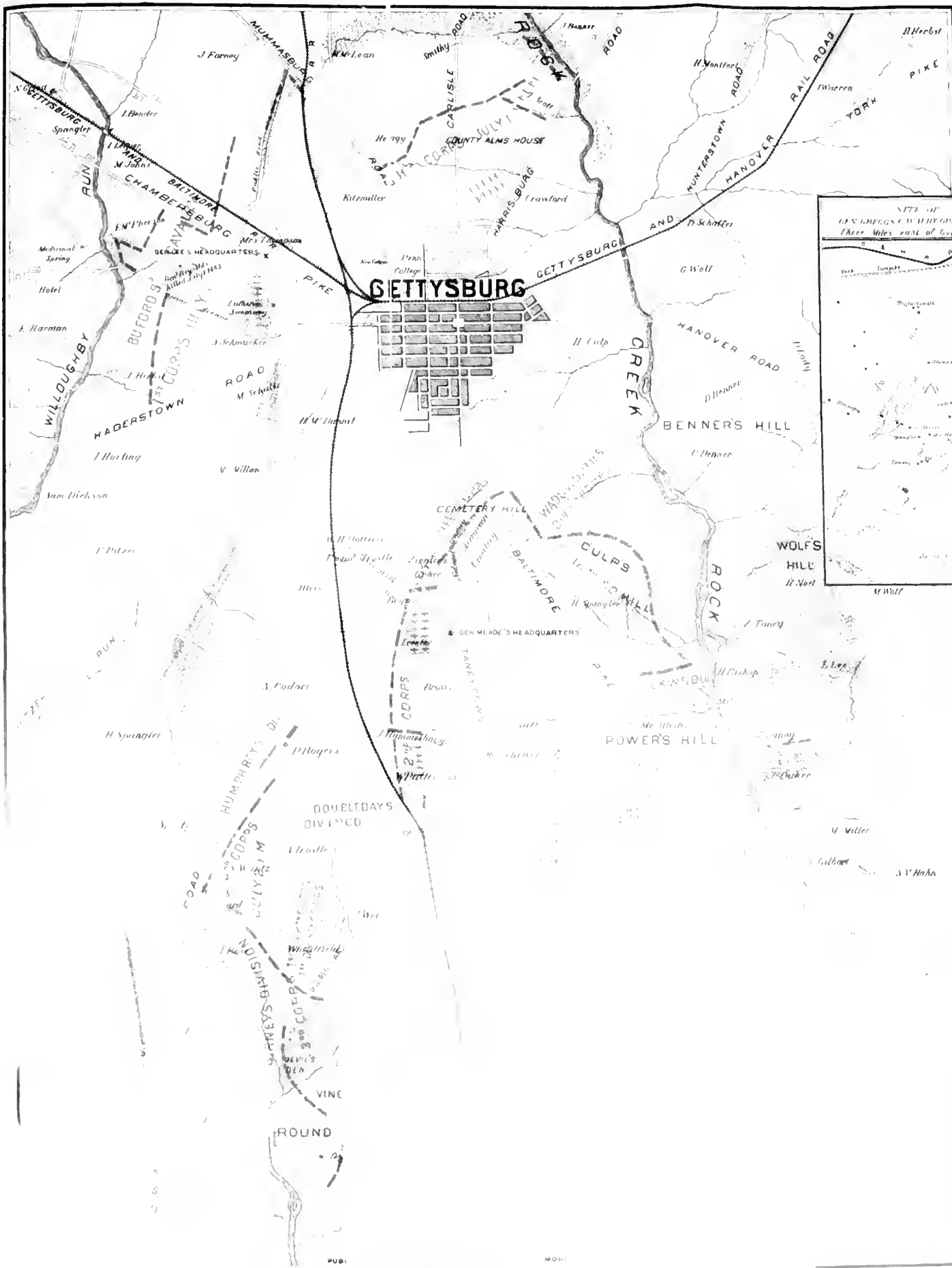
“What a pleasant little time it was when, on the night of the 4th, by the light of a candle, some rebel officers came into our room, and said all who were able to walk should stand up. No one responded. Then he proceeded to parole us and I asked him to certify to that fact, and made a list (I have it now), which he signed, and we all swore not to bear arms against the C. S. A. until we were exchanged. I soon found, upon getting home, that they had no right to administer such an oath, and so disregarded it. Each government agreed to catch a fellow before they let him go, and they were not to be considered caught unless they were paroled at Richmond or Washington.

“With what happy sensations did we wake up on the morning of that glorious 5th of July, and find ourselves left to our own resources. A rebel cavalry picket was outside our windows and acting nervously, first galloping one way, then the other, and finally the whole party took to their saddles and galloped off down the road to the west. I set off to regain my base, regretting much at being compelled to leave the poor sergant, whose ankle was becoming more painful and more dangerous constantly, and who piteously begged each one as he set out to send some one to his assistance.”

The First Day of the Battle of Gettysburg.

Extract from an Address Delivered before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, on the
5th of March, 1880, by Colonel Chapman Biddle.

The failure of Hooker in the early part of the month of May of the year 1863 at Chancellorsville, following within a few short months the repulse of the Army of the Potomac at Fredericksburg, produced a profoundly painful impression on the public mind in the Northern States. For a second time it became necessary for the Army of the Potomac to recross the Rappahannock, and to seek security on the commanding heights of Stafford, while it prepared itself for a renewal of the contest which every lover of the Union most earnestly hoped might lead to favorable results. Notwithstanding his recent and signal success, Lee fully realized the fact that it had been achieved, to use the language of Longstreet, "at such a terrible sacrifice that half a dozen such victories would have ruined" him; or as Lee himself subsequently stated in conversation to Major Seddon, "At Chancellorsville we gained another victory; our people were wild with delight. I, on the contrary, was more depressed than after Fredericksburg; our loss was severe, and again we had gained not an inch of ground, and the enemy could not be pursued. * * * I considered the problem in every possible phase, and to my mind it resolved itself into the choice of one of two things—either to retire on Richmond and stand a siege, which must ultimately have ended in surrender, or to invade Pennsylvania. I chose the latter." For in his judgment sound military policy required that he should not only assume the aggressive, but that he should transfer the theatre of the war to the north of the Potomac, where the country had been almost entirely exempt from its devastation and horrors. Other considerations, too, of even greater importance were intimately connected with the military ones. The material resources of the South had already suffered greatly, and were scarcely adequate to the unintermittent demands which had been, and which were still likely to be, made upon them if the struggle were much longer protracted, and a successful termination of the war on their part seemed to the reflecting portion of the Southern people to be somewhat problematical



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without either the support or the countenance of England and France. For this latter object the recognition of the independence of the Confederacy was vital, but it had from one cause or other, however, been postponed from time to time, chiefly, as was commonly supposed, by the apprehension of the governments of those countries of rashly committing themselves to an act which might in the future involve them in international complications with the United States of a serious nature. A successful invasion of the North, however, would be succeeded by consequences which the Cabinet of Richmond not unreasonably believed would lead to the realization of their earnest desires. Hence under these combined political and military considerations a plan of campaign was prepared without delay and speedily put in execution. In his first or preliminary official report of the battle of Gettysburg, General Lee thus outlines his views upon the subject: "The corresponding movements on the part of the enemy, to which those contemplated by us would probably give rise, might offer a fair opportunity to strike a blow at the army of General Hooker—that in any event that army would be compelled to leave Virginia, that the enemy's plan of campaign be broken up, and that in addition to these advantages it was hoped that other valuable results might be obtained by military success." As one of these other results it has been stated with a certain degree of positiveness in some of the Southern newspapers that it was part of Lee's purpose to fire and in this manner destroy the anthracite mines of Pennsylvania. But be this as it may, Lee in his final report, of January, 1864, of the Pennsylvania campaign, etc., makes no allusion to any anticipated additional valuable results. General Early, who has since, with a number of others, discussed the subject of the propriety of the invasion, considers that it was, at the time it was undertaken, "a wise and judicious movement, notwithstanding the fate that attended it."¹

The first step towards the execution of the new plan was the reorganization of the Army of Northern Virginia, which was then formed into three *corps d'armée*, each under the command of a lieutenant-general. Longstreet was assigned to the First Corps, composed of the divisions of McLaws, Pickett and Hood; the second, comprising the divisions of Early, Rodes and Johnson, was placed under the command of Ewell, in accordance with a request made by Stonewall Jackson, on his death-bed, out of solicitude for the welfare of his veterans;² and the third, whose divisions were under Anderson, Heth and Pender, was assigned to A. P. Hill. The cavalry, which had also been strengthened by several new brigades from the South, was formed into a separate

¹ Southern Historical Society Papers, vol. iv, p. 56.

² Von Borcke, p. 399.

corps of three divisions, commanded by Hampton, Fitz-Hugh Lee and William H. F. Lee.¹ Major Von Borcke, a Prussian officer, who was the assistant adjutant and inspector-general of General J. E. B. Stuart, in referring to this body of cavalry, remarks that "the magnificent spectacle of so many thousand troopers splendidly mounted made the heart swell with pride and impressed one with the conviction that nothing could resist the attack of such a body of troops."² In the opinion of General Lee's military secretary, the recent victories of the Confederate army, "with the care bestowed on its reorganization, equipment and discipline," rendered "its spirit and efficiency unsurpassed by any army of modern times."³

Longstreet, one of Lee's best lieutenants, and on whom great reliance was placed, doubted, however, from the first, the wisdom of the proposed invasion from a military point of view, and urged upon his chief that the campaign could only be brought to a successful issue provided it were made "offensive in strategy, but defensive in tactics." Indeed, he went so far as to present, as a substitute, an entirely different plan, one which contemplated "the idea of a Western forward movement." However just or otherwise Longstreet's views may have been, it is not important now to discuss them, though it may be mentioned that Early has declared Longstreet's plan of a tactical defense to be "a simple absurdity."⁴ At all events, Lee remained fixed in and acted upon his opinion, and when recurring to the subject a short time before Grant crossed the Rapidan, in the spring of 1864, said to General Heth, in the course of conversation, "If I could do so—unfortunately I cannot—I would again cross the Potomac and invade Pennsylvania. I believe it to be our true policy, notwithstanding the failure of last year. An invasion of the enemy's country breaks up all of his preconceived plans, relieves our country of his presence, and we subsist while there on his resources. The question of *food for this army* gives me more trouble and uneasiness than *everything else combined*; the absence of the army from Virginia gives our people an opportunity to collect supplies ahead. The legitimate fruits of a victory if gained in Pennsylvania could be more readily reaped than on our own soil. We would have been in a few days' march of Philadelphia and the occupation of that city would have given us peace."⁵

When the reorganization of the army and other preliminaries had been completed, Lee, on the 3d of June, commenced his Northern

¹Von Borcke, p. 299.

²*Idem*, p. 402.

³Southern Historical Society Papers, vol. iv, p. 119.

⁴*Idem*, vol. iv, p. 281, note.

⁵*Idem*, vol. iv, p. 153.



John F. Reynolds

JOHN FULTON REYNOLDS, MAJOR GENERAL U. S. A.

movement. The division of McLaws, marching out of Fredericksburg, for Culpeper Court-House, followed by Ewell's corps on the 4th and 5th; Hood's Division and Stuart's cavalry moving at the same time. So that by the 8th of that month, two of the corps and Stuart's cavalry had concentrated at Culpeper Court-House.

Early in June, Hooker had obtained information that Lee was gradually withdrawing his forces from Fredericksburg in the direction of Culpeper Court-House. To test the accuracy of this intelligence, which, if true, was most important in its relation to the campaign then about opening, he directed a reconnoissance in force to be made by the cavalry, supported by two small brigades of infantry. The result of this reconnoissance, which, if its objects are kept in view, was altogether favorable, has not only been magnified into a severe repulse on the part of the Union forces by General Lee, but Longstreet has even censured Lee for failing to pursue his advantage by hurling the heavy Confederate corps then at Culpeper Court-House upon the Federal detachment. Assuredly the cavalry of the Army of the Potomac have no reason to regret the issue of the engagement at Beverly Ford, or, as it is sometimes termed, that of Brandy Station. It was the first occasion when as a body it went into action, and whilst perhaps, if the divisions of Buford and Gregg had been connected from the first, instead of having been separated by an interval of five or six miles, when crossing the Rappahannock on the 9th of June, at Beverly and Kelly's Fords, still greater results might have been achieved, yet their work was both faithfully and well done. Stuart's headquarters were captured, and from them was supplied information which enabled Hooker to keep pace with the invading army; Stuart's march was thereby delayed; the direction of Lee's army was changed and prevented from attempting to cross the Potomac near Washington, and Stuart held in check by the subsequent brilliant engagements of Aldie, Middleburg, and Upperville. on the 17th, 19th and 21st days of June, until the Union army had moved into Maryland. At Upperville, "very many charges were made and the sabre used freely, but always with great advantage to" ¹ the Federal troops. The valuable services rendered by the cavalry will again appear when the events connected with the great battle of Gettysburg are brought to notice.

Quick to comprehend the significance of the intelligence thus imparted to him by the reconnoissance, Hooker became at once convinced that the movement northward on the part of Lee was the commencement of a real campaign, and, as a preparatory measure, placed General Reynolds, on the 12th of June, in command of the right wing of the

¹ Report on the Conduct of the War, Part I., p. 280.

army, consisting of his own (the First), the Third, and the Eleventh Corps, which, after it faced about and commenced its northward march, became the left wing, together with the cavalry, directed him to proceed along the line of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad to Manassas. The remaining four corps of the Federal army followed on the succeeding day. As soon as it was known to Hill that Hooker had withdrawn his forces from the heights in front of Fredericksburg, the former commenced his march in the direction of Ewell, who, under his instructions, had proceeded down the Valley of Virginia. Before Ewell reached the Potomac, Lee notified Stuart that the former would cross that river on a certain day and at a certain point, that Hill was to follow, and that Longstreet would hold the gaps in the mountains and protect the crossing of those two corps. After Hill had crossed, Longstreet was to vacate the gaps and follow Hill. When this had been accomplished, Stuart was to seize the gaps and protect Longstreet's crossing; later he was to throw himself on the right flank of the army, watch the enemy, furnish information, and *collect supplies*. To cover the two corps in their march through the valley, Longstreet left Culpeper Court-House on the 15th, pursuing the route along the easterly side of the Blue Ridge, occupying the gaps as occasion required, whilst Stuart, under his discretionary powers from Lee, moved in front and on the right flank of Longstreet. Meanwhile, Hooker, closely watching the movements of his adversary, skillfully manœuvred so as to guard the approaches to Washington, keeping himself at the same time in a position instantly to assail Lee whenever a fitting opportunity might offer. The intended act of invasion, however, in a dispatch of the 15th to the President, Hooker characterized as one of desperation on the part of Lee, "no matter in what force he moves."

After one or two affairs in the valley, by which Milroy was brushed away, the First and Third Corps of the Confederate army, on reaching the Potomac, crossed it, the former at Williamsport and the latter at Shepherdstown, and uniting at Hagerstown, from there marched up the Cumberland Valley to Chambersburg, arriving at the latter place on the evening of the 27th. Ewell had entered Pennsylvania on the 22d with two of his divisions, preceded by Jenkin's cavalry, which numbered, according to General Stuart's estimate, about 3,800¹ (but which number Fitz-Hugh Lee regards as a misprint for 1,600²), and from Chambersburg had sent one of his divisions, that under the command of General Early, through Gettysburg to York, and the other to Carlisle. On the 26th of June, Early entered Gettysburg with 5,000

¹ Southern Historical Society Papers, vol. ii. p. 76.

² *Ibid.*, vol. v. p. 165.

infantry and a squadron of cavalry, and whilst there endeavored, in execution of one of Lee's general objects, to levy contributions on the town. His requisition for supplies, including shoes, amounted in the aggregate to about \$6,000. To this, however, the town was altogether unable to respond, and being satisfied that such was the fact he made no effort to enforce his demand. The next day he resumed his march to Hanover Junction and York, intending to advance from the latter place upon Harrisburg, in obedience to orders which had been issued upon the supposition that Hooker was still on the other side of the Potomac. Early's advance upon Harrisburg was however, arrested in consequence of intelligence having been received by General Lee on the night of the 28th, from a scout, to the effect that the Federal army had not only crossed the Potomac, but that the head of the column was then at Frederick City. The communications of the Confederate forces being thus threatened, it became, in Lee's opinion, absolutely necessary—and it may be in consequence of a suggestion from Longstreet that the order was given—to concentrate the army to the east of the mountains, and thereby check any farther movement on the part of Hooker to the west.

Throughout his entire march the vigilance of Hooker had been unceasing, so that at the moment he became convinced that his adversary had either crossed or was about to cross the Potomac he commenced the passage of the river some thirty-five or forty miles below Shepherdstown, on the 25th and 26th, at Edward's Ferry. Without at all intending to enter into a discussion of Hooker's plan of campaign after his army reached Maryland, it is nevertheless proper to refer briefly to its leading features, which contemplated confining the enemy to a single line of invasion by seizing Turner's and Crampton's Passes of the South Mountain; the cutting of their communication at Williamsport, and abandoning the indefensible post at Harper's Ferry, together with Maryland Heights opposite, which was at that time a strategic point of no consequence, which defended no ford in the river, and which was not a defense to the Cumberland Valley.¹ To secure the first object General Reynolds was directed to send detachments to seize those passes in the mountain near Boonsboro', and to take position in the valley at Middletown with the left wing.² In connection with the second, the left wing at Middletown would be available for an attack upon Lee, in flank, in case he should attempt to turn upon the corps sent by Hooker from below to operate against the Confederate rear.³

¹ Report on the Conduct of the War, Part I, p. 174.

² *Idem*, Part I, p. 169.

³ *Idem*, Part I, p. 174.

Captain Chesney, of the Royal Engineers, professor of military history, Sandhurst College, a military critic of some reputation, in referring to this plan, says, "We may search the history of modern campaigns in vain to find a more striking example of the effect produced by operating on the enemy's communications than that of this movement of Hooker's." * * * "A glance at the map will show why the little town of Gettysburg" was chosen by Lee, "as the most convenient point whereon to assemble his scattered divisions; lying, as it does, nearly equidistant from the stations they occupied at Hagerstown, Chambersburg, Carlisle and York."¹ General Halleck, however, then general-in-chief of the Union army, declined to approve the abandonment of Harper's Ferry and Maryland Heights, although in less than two days thereafter he reversed his decision on this point at the request of General Meade, who, in the meantime, had been appointed to the command of the Army of the Potomac. Hooker felt, and by no means unnaturally, that to have his plans thus interfered with on the eve of the important operations about to commence was calling in question his military capacity in such a manner as to leave him no alternative but to request to be at once relieved from his command. Accordingly, on the afternoon of the 27th he telegraphed to Washington his desire, and on the following morning, Sunday, he received by the hands of a special messenger official notification of his having been relieved, together with an order directing him to turn over the command to General Meade, then in charge of the Fifth Corps, "a brave and accomplished officer, who," as Hooker, in his farewell order to the army, adds, "had nobly earned the confidence and esteem of this army on many a well-fought field."² Thus was terminated the connection of General Hooker with the Army of the Potomac. Whatever opinions in regard to his ability as a chief on the field of battle may be entertained in consequence of the unfortunate issue of Chancellorsville, he is, nevertheless, justly entitled to high commendation for strategic skill, zeal and vigilance while conducting that portion of the campaign of 1863 commencing on the return of the army to the heights of Stafford, and terminating upon his withdrawal from that army at Frederick City.

On assuming his most responsible trust, General Meade, in a short and manly order to his army, gave expression to the almost universal sentiment of the people of the North by declaring that "the country looks to this army to relieve it from the devastation and disgrace of a hostile invasion." In ignorance of the exact condition of his own forces, as well as of the position of the enemy, he could only at the moment

¹ Campaigns in Virginia, Maryland, etc., by Captain Chesney, R. E., vol. ii, p. 31.

² Conduct of the War, Part I, p. 294.

indicate a general purpose of at once moving in the direction of the Susquehanna, "keeping Washington and Baltimore well covered; and if the enemy is checked in his attempt to cross the Susquehanna, or if he turns towards Baltimore, to give him battle." Late in the evening of the same day he communicated to Halleck his intention of moving on the following day on three lines to Emmittsburg and Westminster. His headquarters at 4 P. M. on the 30th were at Taneytown, about eighteen miles in a southeasterly direction from Gettysburg, the left wing of his army, again under the command of Reynolds, in advance, in a northwesterly course from general headquarters, and considerably nearer to Gettysburg, whilst his right wing was to his east, two of its corps to the south, and the remaining two to the north of Pine Creek—his entire force consisting of seven *corps d'armée* of infantry and one of cavalry. Buford, with the First Division of the cavalry, was covering the left flank of the army, having been ordered for the purpose to move from Middletown by the way of Emmittsburg to Gettysburg, and, as appears from one authority, to hold Gettysburg "at all hazards until the army could support him."

The strategic value of Gettysburg had evidently neither been overlooked by Lee and some of his lieutenants, nor by some of the Union commanders, although Major Daniel, of Early's staff, believes that Lee himself had no idea of the great strategic importance of the place.¹ It certainly offered to Lee far greater advantages for concentrating his troops than Chambersburg, which, under the idea of a certain immunity from attack, he had first selected, as supposed by some, in pursuance of his defensive tactical policy. General Long, Lee's military secretary, reports the following as the substance of his chief's remarks when the subject of the Northern invasion was under consideration: "Should we defeat General Hooker in a general engagement south of the Potomac, anywhere in the vicinity of Washington, his shattered army would find refuge within the defenses of that city, as two Federal armies have previously done, and the fruits of victory would again be lost. But should we draw him far away from the defenses of his capital and defeat him on a field of our own choosing, his army would be irretrievably lost, and the victory would be attended with results of the utmost importance. Gettysburg and York were designated as points suitable for such a battle."²

Gettysburg was, moreover, a position of vast natural strength for defensive operations in the opinion of General Meade,³ his assistant

¹Address of Major Daniel before the Virginia Division of the Army of Northern Virginia, October, 1875, p. 17.

²Southern Historical Society Papers, vol. iv. p. 125.

³Conduct of the War, Part I, p. 438.

adjutant-general, General Williams,¹ of General Fitz-Hugh Lee,² and of many other officers both of experience and ability, whilst at the same time it afforded ready access not only to Chambersburg, but also to Hagerstown, Frederick, Taneytown, Baltimore, Hanover, York, Harrisburg, Carlisle and Shippensburg, thus seeming to fulfill all the conditions which the Confederate chief needed for the realization of his general plan of campaign. Eleven roads, several of them well macadamized, centre at Gettysburg, so that by means of some one or more of them he might have maintained a direct communication with his base at Williamsport far more easily than from Chambersburg, whilst for defensive battle the line from and including Wolf Hill, situate to the southeast of the town, and separated from Culp's Hill by Rock Creek, thence pursuing a northerly direction across the depression made by the creek to and along the summit of Culp's Hill to its junction with Cemetery Hill, thence following the crest of the latter for a short distance in a westerly course, and from thence in a southerly direction, so as to embrace a part of Cemetery Ridge, and include Little Round Top as well as Round Top itself, is one rarely equaled and not often excelled. Hence it may readily be inferred that when, on the night of the 28th, Lee was first informed in regard to the position of the Federal army, his whole plan of campaign was suddenly changed, and, in the language of his final report, "it was determined to concentrate the army east of the mountains, as" had been stated in his preliminary report, "our communications with the Potomac were thus menaced." * * * "Accordingly, Longstreet and Hill were directed to proceed from Chambersburg to Gettysburg, to which point General Ewell was also instructed to march from Carlisle." In mentioning the 28th as the date when Lee first obtained information in reference to the Union army, it is not to be lost sight of that in his first report he states that the intelligence was received from a scout "on the night of the 29th," and that in this Longstreet concurs³—the latter adding that early on the morning of the succeeding day he had sought his chief for the purpose of suggesting, if necessary, whether this report ought not to produce a change of direction of the head of their column to the right. But Lee was in error as to its being the 29th, and in his final reports he so admits by declaring that "the advance against Harrisburg was arrested by intelligence received from a scout on the night of the 28th," and in the same connection remarking that "Hill's corps was accordingly ordered to move towards Cashtown on the 29th, and Longstreet to follow the next

¹Conduct of the War, Part I, p. 465.

²Southern Historical Society Papers, vol. iv. p. 73.

³Annals of the War, p. 419.

day, leaving Pickett's division at Chambersburg to guard the rear until relieved by Imboden. General Ewell was recalled from Carlisle and directed to join the army at Cashtown or Gettysburg, as circumstances might require." And again, "Heth's division reached Cashtown on the 29th." As to the earlier date, Lee is corroborated first by Heth, who says, "On the 29th of June, 1863, General Lee's army was disposed as follows: Longstreet's corps at or near Chambersburg; Ewell's corps, which had been pushed east as far as York, had received orders to countermarch and concentrate on Hill's corps, which lay on and at the base of South Mountain; the leading division (Heth's) occupying Cashtown, at the base of the mountain."¹ Secondly, by General Fitz-Hugh Lee, who, when mentioning in his "reply to General Longstreet" the date upon which the Federal army crossed the Potomac, is careful to add, "General Lee heard it on the night of the 28th from a scout, and not from his cavalry commander."² Thirdly, by General Wilcox;³ and, fourthly, by General Early, who distinctly says that "Lee received information on the night of the 28th of June that the Federal army, then under Hooker, had crossed the Potomac;"⁴ and more pointedly still in his supplement or further "reply to General Longstreet," in which he says that the statement of Longstreet, "that the information of the crossing of the Potomac by the Federal army was received from a scout on the night of the 29th of June, is erroneous. General Longstreet's own report, as well as General Lee's detailed one, show that the information was received on the night of the 28th. If it had not been received until the night of the 29th, it would have been impossible for the order to return to reach me at York by the way of Carlisle in time for me to begin my march back early enough on the 30th to reach Gettysburg in time for the fight on the 1st of July. The fact was that I received the order on the morning of the 29th, at York, with the information that the enemy had crossed the Potomac and was moving north." Longstreet has rather recently admitted, in a second article on "The Mistakes of Gettysburg," that "there were two or three trifling inaccuracies in his first account of this battle which need correction," and in regard to the important date adds, "The scout upon whose information the head of our column was turned to the right reported at Chambersburg on the night of the 28th of June. It is printed the 29th."⁵

The suggestion on the part of Longstreet was received by Lee with a ready acquiescence, as at the time the Confederate army was

¹ Southern Historical Society Papers, vol. iv. p. 157.

² *Idem*, vol. v. p. 166; see *idem*, vol. iv. p. 74.

³ *Idem*, vol. iv. p. 112.

⁴ *Idem*, vol. iv. p. 242, and also p. 238; Major Daniel's Address, p. 13.

⁵ Annals of the War, p. 632.

well in hand, with the exception of Stuart's cavalry. A movement towards Meade's army was commenced immediately. Hill's corps, then lying between Chambersburg and Cashtown, west of the mountains, was advanced without delay; the divisions of McLaws and Hood, of Longstreet's corps, following, while the division of Pickett, of the latter corps, remained by order of Lee at Chambersburg as a rear-guard. Rodes and Johnson's divisions, of Ewell's corps, were recalled from Carlisle, and directed to unite with the remainder of the army at or near Cashtown, notwithstanding they had, according to Rodes, "contemplated with eagerness" an advance upon Harrisburg, which was to have been executed on the 30th. These last divisions bivouacked on the night of the 30th at Heidlersburg, a small village, distant some ten or twelve miles to the north and east of Gettysburg. Longstreet's two divisions were, however, only able to march as far as the village of Greenwood, ten miles east of Chambersburg, on the Cashtown Road, in consequence of the wagon trains of Ewell and Hill's corps blocking the road, and then encamped on the 30th. Hill's corps, consisting of the divisions of Anderson, Heth and Pender, and five battalions of artillery, was encamped on the morning of the 29th near Fayetteville, on the road from Chambersburg to Gettysburg. Hill had been directed to move on this road in the direction of York, to cross the Susquehanna, and thus threaten the communications of Harrisburg with Philadelphia, and further to co-operate with Ewell according to circumstances. In consequence, Heth's division was moved on the same day to Cashtown, the division of Pender following on the morning of the 30th, and Anderson ordered to march in the same direction on the morning of the 1st of July. On arriving at Cashtown, Heth sent forward Pettigrew's brigade to Gettysburg, which there encountered Buford's cavalry. Intelligence of this was at once dispatched by a courier to Lee, and Anderson directed to make an early start; Ewell at the same time was notified by Hill that he "intended to advance the next morning and discover what was in his front."¹ The statement published by Heth of the encounter with Buford's cavalry is interesting in this connection; he says, "Hearing that a supply of shoes was to be obtained in Gettysburg," * * * "and greatly needing shoes for my men, I directed General Pettigrew to go to Gettysburg and get these supplies. General Pettigrew, on the 30th of June, with his brigade, went near Gettysburg, but did not enter the town, returning the same evening to Cashtown, reporting that he had not carried out my orders, as Gettysburg was occupied by the enemy's cavalry, and that some of

¹ Southern Historical Society Papers, vol. ii, p. 222.

² *Idem*, vol. iv, p. 157.



FIRST SERGEANT EDWARD SCHEERER.

his officers reported hearing drums beating on the farther side of the town; that under these circumstances he did not deem it advisable to enter Gettysburg. About this time General Hill rode up, and this information was given him. He remarked, 'The only force at Gettysburg is cavalry, probably a detachment of observation. I am just from General Lee, and the information he has from his scouts corroborates that I have received from mine—that is, the enemy are still at Middleburg, and have not yet struck their tents.' I then said, 'If there is no objection, I will take my division tomorrow and go to Gettysburg and get those shoes!' Hill replied, 'None in the world.' General Long (Lee's military secretary) states, however, that the first intelligence which his chief received of the movements of the enemy was his arrival at Emmitsburg, which is several miles northwest of Middleburg.¹ Such in brief was the general military situation of the Confederate forces on the night of the 30th of June, as has been gathered from the various official reports of their principal generals and from other sources. As has already been mentioned, Hill was aware on the 30th that Gettysburg was occupied by a cavalry force of the Federal army, and had not only promptly reported the fact to his commander-in-chief, but had also notified Ewell, who had been recalled from Carlisle, of his intention to advance the next morning to ascertain what was in his front. The main, perhaps the only, object he had in view in thus communicating with Ewell, was to obtain the latter's assistance in his contemplated movement upon Gettysburg. In thus seeking to consolidate the strength of the two corps of the Confederate army at that point, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Hill anticipated something more than the resistance which a mere cavalry detachment was capable of offering, and that consequently he did not implicitly rely upon the reports of his scouts that the enemy were still stationed at Middleburg. But be this as it may, the purpose of Lee, as disclosed in his first report, was to concentrate his army east of the mountains at Gettysburg. His language is: "Accordingly, Longstreet and Hill were directed to proceed from Chambersburg to Gettysburg, to which point General Ewell was also instructed to march from Carlisle," and which seems to admit of no other interpretation. It is nevertheless true that in his detailed report of January, 1864, prepared six months after the battle, the order to Ewell is put quite differently, and that officer is there given the alternative of joining the army either at Cashtown or Gettysburg, as circumstances might require.² But, at all events, it can hardly be denied

¹ Southern Historical Society Papers, vol. iv, p. 122.

² *Idem*, vol. ii, p. 39.

that concentration meant and could mean but one of three things, that is, either an offer of battle, or the acceptance of battle, or a retreat. In the opinion of General Alexander, the chief of artillery of Longstreet's corps, "the concentration which was ordered at Gettysburg was intended as an offer of battle."¹ General Early goes farther, and says expressly that when Meade moved his army near enough to Lee's to render concentration necessary, "the only alternative left the latter was a battle or a retreat."² General Fitz-Hugh Lee, in considering this subject, remarks: "The truth is, General Lee and his army were full of fight, their 'objective point' was the Federal Army of the Potomac, and 'those people' the Confederate chief had resolved to strike whenever and wherever the best opportunity occurred, 'strategically offensive and tactically defensive' to the contrary notwithstanding. An army of invasion is naturally an offensive one in strategy and tactics, and history rarely points to an instance where it has been concentrated on a given point to patiently await an attack. The distance from its base making supplies a difficult matter to procure, in itself regulates the whole question. An army so situated must move or fight."³ Heth fully concurs with Fitz-Hugh Lee as to the fighting qualities of their chief, saying that "Lee, not even excepting Jackson, was the most aggressive man in his army," and that "had he seen fit could have assumed a defensive position, and popular opinion in the Northern States would have forced the commander of the Federal army to attack."⁴

Whilst Heth, as has already been mentioned, regards the battle of Gettysburg as "the result purely of an accident, for which he was probably more than any one else accountable," yet as he is sometimes in error upon important points, as, for example, in reporting a conversation of General Lee respecting the fight at Gettysburg on the third day, the general is made to say, "I shall ever believe if General Pender had remained on his horse half an hour longer we would have carried the enemy's position,"⁵ whereas if General Lane, of North Carolina, is to be relied on, "Pender was mortally wounded on the right of his line by an artillery shot on the afternoon of the 2d of July, and was taken to the rear, where he was on the 3d of July, and could not even mount his horse,"⁶ care must be exercised in accepting his narrative in all its particulars. Finally, in his detailed report, Lee admits that he was "unable to wait an attack," and that a battle had

¹ Southern Historical Society Papers, vol. iv, p. .99

² *Idem*, vol. iv, p. 231, note.

³ *Idem*, vol. v, p. 178.

⁴ *Idem*, vol. iv, p. 156.

⁵ *Idem*, vol. iv, p. 154.

⁶ *Idem*, vol. v, p. 327.

therefore become "in a measure unavoidable," although it had not been intended to deliver one "so far from his base unless attacked."

A careful comparison between the Union and Confederate accounts of some of the occurrences in the respective armies shortly prior to the night of the 30th of June will, as might be expected, disclose points of difference more or less material to be considered. Buford, as previously mentioned, had been directed to move with his division of cavalry from Middletown, by the way of Emmittsburg to Gettysburg. In obedience to his order, but pursuing a more westerly course than the direct road between Middletown and Emmittsburg, he had reached Fountain Dale, a village on the South Mountain, a few miles northwest of Emmittsburg, on the night of the 29th, when from there observing the camp-fires of some of Heth's division near Fairfield in the valley below, got his men in the saddle early the next morning and surprised the Confederate detachment, which hastily fell back towards Cashtown. He declined, however, to press them, for the reason that the noise of the engagement might be heard at army headquarters, where "it might cause delay, uncertainty, and derangement of plans." There had also been a slight skirmish at Fairfield on the 28th between the Confederates and the Union cavalry,¹ information respecting both of which had no doubt been immediately reported to Lee at Chambersburg. After his dash, Buford at once countermarched to Fountain Dale, and then resumed his way through Emmittsburg to Gettysburg, entering the latter town towards noon,² as, according to one version, two of Hill's brigades were about to occupy Seminary Ridge;³ but according to another and probably the more accurate one,⁴ about an hour after the Confederates had withdrawn to Marsh Creek, in consequence of their learning of the near approach of the Federal cavalry. That afternoon Buford encamped on high ground, a mile and a half northwest from the town, between Seminary Ridge and Willoughby Run, and there placed his artillery in position; Gamble's brigade of his division going to the Chambersburg Pike and Devin's brigade to the east, on the Mummasburg Road, covering the approaches from those directions. From prisoners captured by scouting parties sent from those brigades towards Cashtown and Hunterstown, as well as from other sources, it became evident that an almost immediate movement on the part of the Confederates towards Gettysburg was in contemplation. During the day, Buford had informed General Reynolds that "the enemy in his front was increased," and on that night between 10 and 11 o'clock, he

¹ Notes on the Rebel Invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania, etc., by Jacobs, p. 19.

² *Idem*, p. 22.

³ The Decisive Conflicts of the late Civil War, by De Peyster, p. 27.

⁴ Notes on the Rebel Invasion, by Jacobs, p. 22.

further notified the latter that he was "satisfied that A. P. Hill's corps" was "massed just back of Cashtown, about nine miles from this place. Pender's division of this corps came up to-day, of which I advised you." * * * "The enemy's pickets (infantry and artillery) are within four miles of this place at the Cashtown Road." * * * "A captured scout says, 'Ewell's corps is crossing the mountains from Carlisle, Rode's division being at Petersburg in advance. Longstreet, from all I can learn, is still behind Hill.'" * * * "Should I have to fall back, advise me by what route."¹ In reporting to General Halleck at Washington, between 4 and 5 o'clock in the afternoon of the 30th, General Meade states that "information seems to place Longstreet at Chambersburg, and A. P. Hill moving between Chambersburg and York," and that "our cavalry drove a regiment out of Gettysburg this A. M."²

In his circular of June 30th, to his corps commanders, General Meade announces that "he has received information that the enemy are advancing, probably in strong force, on Gettysburg." * * * Three corps, First, Third, and Eleventh are under the command of Major-General Reynolds in the vicinity of Emmittsburg, the Third Corps being ordered up to that point." And in his order, issued the same day for the march of the army on the 1st of July, whilst directing the First Corps to move to Gettysburg, the Eleventh to Gettysburg (or supporting distance), and the Third to Emmittsburg, Meade repeats that from present information Longstreet and Hill are at Chambersburg, partly towards Gettysburg; Ewell at Carlisle and York. Movements indicate a disposition to advance from Chambersburg to Gettysburg," and being satisfied that he has relieved Harrisburg and Philadelphia, he desires "to look to his own army and assume position for offensive or defensive as occasion requires."³ In consequence of Buford's report from Gettysburg of "the appearance of the enemy on the Cashtown Road in some force General Reynolds was directed to occupy Gettysburg,"⁴ whither the enemy were moving, "and where it was not improbable they will reach before the command of Reynolds," * * * "then on its way could arrive." General Reynolds had, moreover been instructed, "in the event of finding himself confronted by a superior force," to hold it "in check, if he was able, and to fall slowly back."⁵ On the judgment of no other officer did Meade rest greater dependence than on that of Reynolds; he was the officer upon whom

¹ Conduct of the War, Part 1, p. 352.

² *Idem*, Part 1, p. 483.

³ *Idem*, Part 1, p. 421.

⁴ Meade's Official Report, Battle of Gettysburg, by Bates, p. 237.

⁵ Conduct of the War, Part 1, p. 356.

he "had relied under his instructions."¹ Indeed, Reynolds was to him as he affectionately as well as eloquently, expressed himself of his comrade, "not only a lieutenant of the utmost importance," but a friend, a brother and "the noblest as well as the bravest gentleman in the army."² Amidst the confusion of the reports which crowded upon him respecting the position and the objects of the enemy, the commander-in-chief sought from this able lieutenant and trusted friend, advice to determine whether it was "his best policy to move to attack," for as he states in his communication of the first of July, to Reynolds, "If the enemy is concentrated to the right of Gettysburg, that point would not at first glance seem to be a proper strategic point for concentration of this army. If the enemy is concentrating in front of Gettysburg or to the left of it, the general is not sufficiently well informed of the nature of country to judge of its character either for an offensive or defensive position." * * * "The general having just assumed command in obedience to orders," * * * "would gladly receive from you any suggestions as to the points laid down in this note. He feels that you know more of the condition of the troops in your vicinity and the country than he does." * * * "You have all the information which the general has received, and the general would like to have your views. The movement of your corps to Gettysburg was ordered before the positive knowledge of the enemy's withdrawal from Harrisburg and concentration was received."³

On his route to Gettysburg, Reynolds had on the afternoon of the 30th encamped in the vicinity of a tavern near Marsh Creek, about five miles south and west of the town. At the same time the Eleventh Corps was to the left of Emmittsburg, and the Third between that place and Taneytown. At night, General Howard, the commander of the Eleventh Corps, was requested to report at Reynolds' headquarters, where immediately on his arrival Reynolds showed him Meade's "Confidential address, just issued, in which he required the officers in command fitly to address the troops," and to appeal "to every patriotic sentiment to stimulate his command on the approach of a great battle." He also showed him "in a bundle of dispatches—the information brought to him during the day—evidence of the nearness, position and designs of the enemy. He sat down with" Howard "to study the maps of the country, and consulted" with him "upon these matters till 11 o'clock at night, the last night of his life."⁴ The notice of this

¹ Conduct of the War, Part I, p. 348.

² Meade's address to the Pennsylvania Reserves, History of the Pennsylvania Reserves, by Sypher, p. 493.

³ Conduct of the War, Part I, p. 355.

⁴ Campaign and Battle of Gettysburg, by O. O. Howard, Atlantic Monthly, July, 1876, p. 52.

interesting interview is altogether too slight and incomplete on the part of General Howard, for it is highly important to be able to determine what bearing it had on the operations of the succeeding day. A protracted discussion of the probable designs of the enemy from the evidence before them must have led to some conclusion, for so accomplished a soldier as Reynolds was evidently during that night's study and conference considering the possibilities of the morrow, and most probably was preparing himself to carry into successful execution the discretionary powers with which he had been invested by his commander-in-chief. He had been made aware by Buford that the enemy had increased in numbers; that Hill's corps was massed immediately behind Cashtown; that Ewell was crossing the mountains from Carlisle, and that their infantry and artillery pickets were within four miles of Gettysburg. His views besides had been freely expressed, and it was known that he favored offering the enemy battle at the earliest suitable moment. General Doubleday mentions a conversation on this subject with Reynolds, which took place just after the Union army had crossed the Potomac, in which the latter urged as a reason that if he gave the enemy "time by dilatory measures or by taking up defensive positions they would strip" Pennsylvania "of everything. Hence he was in favor of striking them as soon as possible. He was really eager to get at them."¹ On the same night, close by Gettysburg, Buford was also considering with one of his brigade commanders the chances of the next day; his opinion was clear that the battle would be fought at that point, but he was apprehensive that "it would be commenced in the morning before the infantry would get up. These," adds the officer who made the statement, are his own words."² Buford further remarked that "the enemy must know the importance of this position, and will strain every nerve to secure it, and if we are able to hold it we will do well." Reynolds was perfectly well aware that the enemy was concentrating to the left of Gettysburg, and that a collision was imminent; his corps had been ordered to occupy the town which Buford had been instructed to hold, and beyond doubt, in answer to the inquiry of the latter by what route, in case of necessity, he should fall back, he readily promised prompt support so that he might strike the enemy without delay.

There were encamped on the night of the 30th within a radius of eight miles from Gettysburg four of the nine divisions of the Confederate army, numbering, with the cavalry and artillery, not less than 35,000 men, and one corps of the left wing of the Federal army, besides two of the three brigades of Buford's division of cavalry (the

¹ Battle of Gettysburg, by Bates, p. 84, and Conduct of the War, Part I, p. 305.

² Statement of Buford's signal-officer, De Peyster, p. 151.

other brigade being at Mechanicstown with the trains), aggregating about 10,400; most of the remaining corps of the Union army being at a greater distance, namely, two near Emmitsburg, one at Taneytown, one at Hanover, and one at Manchester. As to the estimate here made of the opposing forces in close proximity to Gettysburg at this time, it seems scarcely necessary to remark that writers on both sides have given not only the actual but the relative numbers widely different from those now presented. In his letter on the relative strength of the two armies, Early insists that as there were no regular monthly returns for June, 1863, on account of Lee's army being engaged on the 1st, 2d and 3d of July at Gettysburg, the estimates made of the Confederate force at the commencement of the battle are unreliable.¹ Lee's military secretary says, "Shortly after the battle of Chancellorsville the Army of Northern Virginia had, by the return of absentees and the divisions of Longstreet, been increased to 65,000 men."² The statement made by Colonel Allen is that "frequently the Confederate reports included more than the effective fighting men. Thus Rodes' 'return' at Carlisle, a few days before Gettysburg, makes his total strength of officers and enlisted men '8,052.' Now Rodes had about 6,000 muskets, or less than 7,000 effectives."³ Heth says his division "numbered some 7,000 muskets."⁴ Hooker testified before the Committee on the Conduct of the War that "with regard to the enemy's force I had reliable information. Two Union men had counted them as they passed through Hagerstown, and in order that there might be no mistake they compared notes every night, and if their counts differed they were satisfactorily adjusted by compromise. In round numbers Lee had 91,000 infantry and 280 pieces of artillery; marching with that column were about 6,000 cavalry. It will be remembered that a portion of the enemy's cavalry crossed the Potomac below Edwards' Ferry and went into Maryland to join Ewell, between me and Washington; this column numbered about 5,000 men."⁵ The Comte de Paris in giving his conclusions as to the numerical strength of both armies at Gettysburg expresses himself thus: "I reckon, therefore, the whole strength of the Army of Northern Virginia in Pennsylvania at about 76,000 present, out of which at least 66,000 were present for duty, and 268 guns."⁶ Colonel Taylor, of Lee's staff, in reply to the Count, admits that "the three arms of service then numbered as follows: infantry, 53,500; cavalry, 9,000; artillery, 4,500.

¹ Southern Historical Society Papers, vol. ii, p. 17.

² *Idem*, vol. iv, p. 119.

³ *Idem*, vol. iv, p. 39.

⁴ *Idem*, vol. iv, p. 152.

⁵ Conduct of the War, Part I, p. 173.

⁶ Southern Historical Society Papers, vol. v, p. 205.

Total effectives of all arms, 67,000.”¹ So that the estimate of the Confederate forces encamped within a radius of eight miles from Gettysburg at not less than 35,000, on the night of the 30th, may be regarded as being substantially correct.

The duration of the action which was ushered in on the morning of the 1st of July—an action of such momentous consequences to civil liberty, and in some aspects the most important of the series of the conflicts comprehended under the general designation of the battle of Gettysburg—was altogether less than seven hours, during the greater part of which time the struggle was waged on both sides with unusual tenacity and severity. From a military point of view the operations of that day may be divided into four parts—first, the engagement between Heth and Buford; second, that between the divisions of Heth and Pender on the one side and the First Corps on the other; third, that between the divisions of Heth, Pender, Rodes and Early and the First and Eleventh Corps; and, fourth, from the repulse of the Federal forces to their occupation of Cemetery Hill.

With the dawn of Wednesday, July the 1st, or even later,² Heth and Pender advanced with their divisions from Cashtown to attack the Federal force in their front; at about the same time the divisions of Rodes and Early started from Heidlersburg, where they had encamped the night before, for Cashtown. Two divisions of Longstreet's corps, near Chambersburg, followed after Hill. Pickett in obedience to an order remained at Chambersburg as a rear guard. Longstreet's two divisions did not arrive on the field during the first day's battle, whilst the remaining divisions of Anderson and Johnson, of the other two corps, reached it when the action was over. Some of the Confederate cavalry were observed at an early hour reconnoitring Buford's force from the Chambersburg Pike, and towards 9 o'clock Heth's division of Hill's corps, consisting of four brigades of infantry and five batteries of artillery,³ reached the ridge just west of Willoughby Run, a mile or more from Gettysburg. Several of these batteries were at once placed in position near the turnpike, Marye firing the opening gun in shelling the woods in his front. Two brigades of infantry were then deployed to the right and left of the unfinished railroad, part of which was embankment and deep cut, immediately north of the turnpike, and with this railroad for their line of direction were afterwards ordered to advance and occupy the town. Between half after 9 and 10 o'clock⁴ skirmishing commenced—the first discharge—a musket-shot,

¹ Southern Historical Society Papers, vol. v. p. 245.

² *Idem*, vol. ii, p. 223, and vol. iv, p. 113.

³ *Idem*, Confederate Roster, vol. iii, p. 119; vol. v, p. 196, and vol. ii, p. 223.

⁴ Rebel Invasion, etc., by Jacobs, p. 23, and De Peyster, p. 34.



MAJOR-GENERAL ABNER DOUBLEDAY.

having been fired against some of Gamble's brigade, of Buford's dismounted cavalry. Such was the commencement of the great conflict which the troops on both sides had been eager to wage. Almost at once the artillery fire was replied to by Buford's light batteries, one of which was admirably directed by Lieutenant Calif, and the engagement became quite severe. When Buford's men were nearly overpowered, the signal-officer observed from the seminary steeple, in sweeping his glass over the field, the flag of the First Corps, and upon reporting the fact, Buford exclaimed, "Now we can hold the place!"

Leaving his camp near Marsh Creek, some five miles distant from Gettysburg, in a southwesterly direction, early on the same morning, Reynolds hastened along the Emmittsburg Road with Wadsworth's division of the First Corps, and Hall's battery, directing General Doubleday to bring up the other divisions and the remaining batteries, except the First Brigade of the Third Division, which had been detailed for picket duty, on the previous afternoon, from Marsh Creek in a westerly direction to Middle Creek, and Cooper's battery of four pieces, which brigade and battery followed independently, under my command, from the cross-roads at Ross White's along a road between the Emmittsburg and Hagerstown Roads, commonly known as the Gettysburg and Nunemaker's Mill Road. Before starting to Buford's assistance, Reynolds read to Doubleday his telegrams, showing the position of the Federal troops and what they were doing.¹ From various casualties the total effective strength of the First Corps had at the end of June shrunk to a number not exceeding 8,200. Reynolds, from recent information, had most probably anticipated an early collision, and being thoroughly self-reliant as well as full of dash, did not in the emergency await additional instructions. Usually riding some distance beyond his corps, he was on this day with his staff considerably in advance of the troops. Whilst thus reconnoitring the different positions which might soon become the theatre of a conflict, a dispatch from Buford was handed to him, when less than three miles from the town, announcing that the enemy were then sorely pressing the cavalry. On the instant Reynolds sent an aide to Wadsworth with a characteristic order "to close up and come on," and dispatched other staff-officers to Howard and Sickles, who were then not far from Emmittsburg, to hasten the movements of the former and to direct the latter to advance without delay. A few minutes later Reynolds, on meeting and inquiring of Buford if he "could hold out until his corps came up?" received from him a brief assurance in the words "I reckon I can."²

¹ Conduct of the War, Part I, p. 305.

² Statement of Buford's signal-officer, De Peyster, 153.

Hall gives a different account of the interview between Reynolds and Buford as follows: "Reynolds and staff were dismounted and sitting near my guns before we hitched up for marching, when Buford, with a small escort of cavalry, came along, and I heard Buford say to Reynolds, 'I have run upon a couple of regiments of infantry near Gettysburg, which, owing to their being in the woods, I am unable to dislodge, and I think you had better move up and feel them.' Reynolds, in my hearing, dictated a message to Meade something like this: 'Buford just now reports that he finds a small force of the enemy's infantry in a point of woods near Gettysburg, which he is unable to dislodge; and while I am aware that it is not your desire to force an engagement at that point, still, from the scope of instructions I have all the time had from you since commanding this wing of the army, I feel at liberty to advance to Gettysburg and develop the strength of the enemy at that point.'"¹

Howard had been ordered by Reynolds, early on the morning of the 1st of July, to advance from Emmittsburg with the Eleventh Corps. This order was received at 8.30 A. M., and having been expected in consequence of Meade's order of March for the 1st of July, Howard at once commenced to move in two columns; Barlow's division, with a battery, being put on the direct road to Gettysburg, and the other two divisions, with the remaining four batteries, on a road leading across to the Taneytown Road, and thence by that road to the town. The direct road being obstructed by artillery carriages and trains, Howard supposed that Barlow's division would not reach Gettysburg until shortly after 1 P. M., and that the other divisions would be there about the same hour. As soon as the columns were started, Howard, accompanied by his staff, taking the shortest route, and riding rapidly, occasionally in the woods and fields, reached, as he states, the vicinity of Gettysburg about 10.30 A. M.,² but as to this being the hour of his arrival he is most probably in error, for the evidence on the subject almost certainly fixes it from a half to three-quarters of an hour earlier. Indeed, he himself admits noticing variations in the time that "different officers have recorded the same event," of from a half to three-quarters of an hour from that of his own watch. His chief of artillery, moreover, remarks in his narrative that "at 10 A. M. General Howard received notice from General Reynolds that he had engaged the enemy, and was met by largely superior numbers, and urged General Howard to hurry his corps forward as rapidly as possible." * * * "I was with General Howard when he received this notice from General Reynolds, but the batteries

¹ *Brookline Chronicle*, February 16, 1878.

² Campaign of Gettysburg, by O. O. Howard, *Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1876, p. 53.

were back." * * * "General Howard directing me to bring the batteries forward as rapidly as possible rode to the front."¹ Before this, however, when near Gettysburg, one of General Howard's aides reported to Reynolds the expected early arrival of the Eleventh Corps, upon which, and before leaving for the front, Reynolds desired the aide to return to his commanding officer "with orders to move on rapidly to Cemetery Hill, where he would be put in position."² After Reynolds had reached Seminary Ridge and observed the critical situation of his troops, he sent word to Howard to urge his corps forward, which was the message referred to by Howard as well as by his chief of artillery. Subsequently to the receipt of the order to hasten forward his corps Howard entered the town, and from Fahnestock's observatory had a partial view of what was passing on the field to the north and west in the distance. He there got glimpses, as he says, of Wadsworth's division of infantry fighting near the railroad cut at Seminary Ridge. "Success," he adds, "was then attending him, and prisoners in gray were being conducted into the town." A few minutes later (by his watch about 11.30 A.M.) intelligence was received by him of the death of Reynolds, and that the command of the troops had, in consequence, devolved upon him. As he had previously sent the earnest request from Reynolds back to the columns of Schurz and Barlow, he then, with a full knowledge of what was transpiring and what had transpired at the front, "rode slowly" to the rear, near the cemetery gate, where he soon met Schurz, who had hastened on to see him.³

The area of the field upon which the most important operations of the 1st of July took place scarcely exceeds two square miles. This small parallelogram embraces part of Willoughby Run, which flows in a southerly course, of a ridge between Seminary Ridge and the run, of Seminary Ridge, as well as parts of the Hagerstown, Chambersburg and Mummasburg Roads, all converging to the town. The two ridges extend nearly north and south. The Hagerstown Road runs in a west-southwesterly direction from Gettysburg, the Chambersburg Pike a little north of west-northwest, and the Mummasburg Road about north-west. The line of the First Corps, extending on its left to near the Hagerstown Road and on its right to the Mummasburg Road, did not greatly, if at all, exceed a mile and a half in length.

Leaving the Emmitsburg Road not far from Codori's house, near the town, and dashing across the fields to the west at a double-quick, Cutler's brigade (with the exception of the 7th Indiana, which had been detached for special duty), of Wadsworth's division, reached the

¹ Philadelphia *Weekly Times*, May 31, 1879.

² Battle of Gettysburg, by Bates, p. 68.

³ Campaign of Gettysburg, by O. O. Howard, *Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1876, p. 54.

crest of Seminary Ridge just as Buford's men were beginning to yield to the severe pressure of the enemy. Buford had, however, faithfully discharged his whole duty in the face of heavy odds. He had tenaciously kept his position, and thus rendered it possible for the Union, in its hour of peril, to find its deliverance through the Army of the Potomac. To the boldness, persistence and gallantry of John Buford, on this and other fields, his country owes his memory a vast debt of gratitude. Hardly had the first regiment of Cutler's brigade arrived on the ground, and taken position to the right of the Chambersburg Pike, before the Confederates advanced in strong force along and upon both sides of that road, and became engaged with the Federal line. The last instructions which General Doubleday had from Reynolds in reference to the battle were, "I will hold on to this road," the Chambersburg Pike, "and you hold on the other," or the Mummasburg Road.¹ In defending this main highway, leading from Chambersburg to Baltimore through Gettysburg, Reynolds directed the troops of Meredith's brigade, of the First Division, which immediately reached the ridge after Cutler, as they were deploying to the left of the pike, to hurry forward to the parallel ridge in front, and there attack the enemy as they came up its western slope. Meredith's regiments, rapidly forming line of battle as they came successively on the ground, charged the enemy, and drove them precipitately down the slope, back to and across Willoughby Run. Reynolds, who, with the instinct of a soldier, had from the first grasped the important features of the entire field, and who by his prompt and resolute course of action had fixed the site for the greater battle yet to be fought, observed whilst near these troops an advance to the left of a portion of the enemy through the wood: one of Meredith's regiments, the 19th Indiana, just then appearing, he ordered it to charge—leading the charge in person.² Almost immediately after, and shortly before 11 A. M., a minie ball, from one of Archer's sharpshooters, entering the back of his neck as he turned to look in the direction of the seminary, caused him to fall from his horse apparently lifeless. Pollard, in his "Southern History of the War," gives an altogether different version of the occurrence, stating that "the Confederates, distinguishing him from his uniform to be an officer of high rank, opened upon him with heavy volleys of infantry fire. He was struck by several balls, and died instantly without uttering a word."³ In the vigor of his manhood, and in the fullness of his well-earned military fame, perished this hero upon a field which his genius had fixed for the determination of

¹ *Conduct of the War*, Part I, p. 306.

² De Peyster, p. 37.

³ *Southern History of the War*, Third Year, by Pollard, p. 24.

one of the great and decisive conflicts of the world. "Yet," in the language of another, "where could man meet better the inevitable hour than in defense of his native State, his life-blood mingling with the soil on which he first drew breath?"¹

The 24th Michigan and the 19th Indiana, two regiments of Meredith's brigade, pursuing the enemy across the run, enfiladed Archer's brigade and succeeded in capturing Archer together with the greater part of his troops. Cutler's brigade, which had gone to the right of the Chambersburg Pike, and which was extended in prolongation of the line of Meredith's brigade, became engaged with the enemy a little earlier, the opening infantry fire on the Federal side having come from the 56th Pennsylvania Regiment of Volunteers. This brigade, however, meeting with a force greatly superior to its own, numerically, had been compelled to fall back, at first on the right and then along its whole line, to a position nearly perpendicular to the one which it had originally assumed, thus not only exposing itself greatly but also the right flank and rear of the other brigade. The 6th Wisconsin, Meredith's brigade, which had been held in reserve at the time of the charge against Archer's troops, was at once sent to the assistance of Cutler. Promptly changing front to the north, it, together with the 95th New York and the 14th Brooklyn, of Cutler's brigade, impetuously charged the advancing and victorious line of Davis' Mississippi brigade, forced it back at the point of the bayonet to the railroad cut, and there, after a short but sharp resistance, captured the 2d Mississippi Regiment, and portions of the 42d Mississippi and another regiment of the same brigade. This brilliant achievement on the part of the Union arms, held the enemy in check for a time. Shortly before 11 A. M., Doubleday's division arrived on the ground, and a little after, Robinson's division, of the First Corps—Robinson's division being at first "kept in reserve behind the seminary;"² Baxter's, one of its two brigades, going into position later on Seminary Ridge to the right of the Chambersburg Pike, north of the railroad cut, and extending as far as the Mummasburg Road—the 11th Pennsylvania forming on the immediate right of Cutler; the 97th New York, the 83d New York, the 88th Pennsylvania, and the 12th Massachusetts successively to the right, all facing west, and the 90th Pennsylvania, the extreme right of the line, being refused, facing to the north and stretching along the Mummasburg Road. Towards half after 12 o'clock a general firing was renewed, and some of the enemy advancing against Baxter were driven back by a portion of his brigade,

¹ Oration on General Meade and the Battle of Gettysburg, before the Society of the Army of the Potomac, May, 1873, p. 13.

² Conduct of the War, Part I, p. 307.

including the 11th Pennsylvania, in the face of a heavy fire, across an open field, with the loss, notwithstanding repeated reinforcements, of about five hundred prisoners from Iverson's North Carolina brigade, of Rode's division, of Ewell's corps, the 88th Pennsylvania capturing the colors of the 23d North Carolina Regiment. General Rodes, describing in his report this part of the engagement, says, "Iverson's left, being exposed thus, heavy loss was inflicted upon his brigade. His men fought and died like heroes. His dead lay in a distinctly-marked line of battle. His left was overpowered, and many of his men, being surrounded, were captured." ¹ Pollard states that Rodes, in "riding along behind where their line had been, thought he observed a regiment lying down as if to escape the Yankee fire. On going up, however, to force them into the fight he found they were all corpses." ² A heavy skirmish line of the enemy then appearing, supported by lines of battle, caused the Federal brigade, its ammunition being nearly exhausted, to fall back to its original position. Paul's, the other brigade of the division, was moved from the rear of the seminary, where it had been massed, across the railroad cut towards 2 P. M., the troops loading as they advanced, and when they had reached the foot of the ridge, pushed up the next slope at the double-quick, encountering at the summit of that ridge the first line of the enemy, who at once threw down their arms and surrendered. But the second line coming up quickly to the support of the first, and reinforcements being also steadily poured in, caused a desperate struggle to ensue, in which the slaughter was not only terrible, but the Union forces, suffering severely, were driven back. Paul's brigade consisted of the 16th Maine, the 13th Massachusetts, the 94th New York, the 104th New York and the 107th Penna. Vols.

Stone's brigade, of Doubleday's division, composed of three Pennsylvania regiments, namely, the 143d, the 149th and 150th, after it came upon the field took position at a little before noon on the ridge immediately beyond Seminary Ridge, under a heavy fire, with the right resting on the Chambersburg Pike, and the left almost reaching the wood occupied by Meredith's brigade—its skirmishers thrown forward down the next slope, the pike being held by a number of sharpshooters.

This disposition continued unchanged until between 12 and 1 o'clock, when an enfilading fire from a Confederate battery compelled its right regiment (the 143d) to fall back to Seminary Ridge. Immediately the 149th was faced to the north, and thrown out on the pike,

¹ Southern Historical Society Papers, vol. ii, p. 147.

² Southern History of the War, Third Year, by Pollard, p. 25.

and between 1.30 and 2 o'clock, as the enemy's infantry moved forward in force, the 143d was ordered to take position on the pike to the right of the former regiment, thus deploying these two regiments at right angles with the 150th, which remained to the right of and near Meredith's brigade, facing west. It was to one of the officers of the 150th Pennsylvania Volunteers that John Burns, of Gettysburg, then an old man of seventy years of age, first applied for permission to fight with the Union troops, and obtaining that permission, fought chiefly with the 7th Wisconsin until the Federal forces were driven back in the afternoon. As he was falling back with the rest, having already received three wounds, one of them through the arm, a final wound in the leg disabled him. Helpless, and almost bleeding to death, he lay upon the field until early the next morning, when his wounds were dressed by a Confederate surgeon. His heroic conduct met with a suitable recognition both by the United States Congress and the Legislature of Pennsylvania, and the pensions which his valor won him he lived to enjoy until the month of February, 1872. An instance of the bravery of an Emmittsburg lad, akin to that of Burns, is recorded by one of the soldiers of the 12th Massachusetts Volunteers. As Baxter's brigade was marching through Emmittsburg it was followed by the village boys, one of whom continued to the camp at Marsh Creek, where he offered to enlist. His offer, however, was ridiculed, and he was sent away. On the morning of the 1st of July he reappeared, and so earnestly entreated the colonel of the 12th Massachusetts to be allowed to join his regiment that a captain of one of the companies was instructed to take him on trial for a day or two. When the regiment halted near the seminary, the boy was hastily dressed in a suit of blue. Afterwards, during the action, he fought bravely until a bullet striking his musket split it in two pieces, one of which lodged in his hand and the other in his thigh. The unknown boy was taken to the brick church in the town to be cared for, but nothing was afterwards seen or heard of him.¹

As the enemy pressed forward to attack, the 143d and the 149th Pennsylvania Volunteers, on the pike, were sent to occupy the railroad cut about one hundred yards distant to the north. The advance of the enemy from the north having, after a spirited contest, been repulsed, the attack was resumed in force from the west, which was also successfully resisted—a vigorous bayonet charge driving them back. After retreating a short distance, however, they moved by their right flank and occupied, towards 2.45 P. M., a wood in front of Meredith's brigade. Not long after 3 o'clock, Meredith's troops having retired to the crest

¹ *Brookline Chronicle*, February 16, 1878.

of the next ridge, the brigade, then under the command of Colonel Langhorne Wister, in danger of being surrounded, gradually fell back to Seminary Ridge, where a new position was taken, and for a time stubbornly maintained. But finally being outflanked by vastly superior numbers, it fell back through the town to Cemetery Hill, where it was reformed, and rested in line during the night.

The First Brigade of Doubleday's division was under my command, and consisted of the 121st, 142d and 151st Regiments of Pennsylvania Volunteers, and the 20th New York State Militia. Cooper's Battery "B," First Pennsylvania Artillery, had on the morning of the 1st of July been attached to the brigade. On that morning, as soon as the pickets of the 121st could be withdrawn, the infantry and artillery were marched from the cross-roads at Ross White's, which lie between Marsh and Middle Creeks, along the Nunemaker Mill Road to Gettysburg, a distance of about seven miles.

When within a mile of the town the sound of heavy firing to the northwest indicated that a sharp engagement was already in progress. The brigade was in consequence rapidly pushed across the fields to open ground, a short distance north of the Hagerstown Road, and about a third of a mile west of the seminary, and there formed, a little before 11 A. M., on the extreme left of the general line of battle. The battery was immediately placed in position, and its fire directed towards the northwest, to the left of the woods in which the First Division was then engaged. Upwards of three-quarters of a mile in front were woods nearly parallel with the line of battle and between, somewhat to the left, a house and large stone barn, the latter of which was afterwards used as a cover for the enemy's sharpshooters. To protect the battery from the annoyance which the sharpshooters occasioned, a company of skirmishers was sent from the 20th New York, who, readily driving the men off, occupied their shelter. Later in the day, towards 3 P. M., Pettigrew's brigade of North Carolina troops, Heth's division, Hill's corps, advancing in two lines and in perfect order, commenced a vigorous attack on the extreme left of the Federal line held by the First Brigade. Of the four small regiments composing the latter brigade, one—the 151st—had been detached about 2.30 o'clock to be held in reserve, and was posted near the Seminary Grove until it was subsequently sent forward to occupy the gap between Meredith's and my brigade. Notwithstanding the great disparity in numbers between the contending forces, and that the left of the Federal line was greatly outflanked, the position was maintained with spirit for a considerable time under a severe direct and oblique fire, and until, being without support, the fragments of the four regiments were compelled

to retire—towards 4 P. M.—to a partial cover on the edge of the town, close to and west of the Seminary, where they continued to resist the progress of the enemy until the batteries and most of the Union troops had withdrawn to Cemetery Hill; then, as the enemy were swarming in on the left, they fell back to the same point, reforming in the rear of its crest. The admirable behavior of the men and officers of the brigade may to some extent be inferred from the fact that out of 1,287 officers and men who went into action as the First Brigade of the Third Division of the First Corps, 440 were either killed or wounded and 457 missing, leaving as its effective strength at the close of the first day's battle 390 officers and men. * * * * *

The main features of the determined resistance offered by the First Corps having thus at some length been presented, the part taken in the battle of the 1st of July by the Eleventh Corps remains to be described. Shortly after the death of Reynolds, General Schurz, who had assumed the command of the Eleventh Corps, met the Third Division, the head of that part of his column which had moved by the Taneytown Road, near Cemetery Hill. This was probably a little after 1 P. M., although General Howard suggests that it may have been as early as 12.45 P. M.,¹ whilst his chief of artillery states that at 10 A. M. "the head of the Eleventh Corps had * * * just come in sight of Gettysburg."² The narrative of this last-mentioned officer does not, however, agree in several important particulars with the reports of other officers. For instance, both Howard and Schurz speak of Barlow's division (the First) as marching on the direct road from Emmittsburg, and the other two by cross-roads leading into the Taneytown Road, Howard adding that one battery was with the First Division and the remaining four batteries with the other two divisions; whereas the chief of artillery represents it that one battery was marching with Schurz's division (the Third) and one with Steinwehr's (the Second) and that "the remaining three were together between the two rear divisions."³ It would certainly have been quite easy to arrange these five batteries so that one should have been at the head of the Third, one at the rear of the Second, and the remaining three between those two divisions, but such an arrangement would not have allowed a battery to the First Division, of which Schurz speaks. Be this as it may, however, his statement as to the time when the batteries reached the town, and which is of far more consequence, is by no means clear. After mentioning that Howard had intelligence of the death of Reynolds at 11.30 A. M., he remarks, "I reached Gettysburg in an hour after receiving General Howard's order

¹ Campaign of Gettysburg, by O. O. Howard, *Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1876, p. 55.

² *Philadelphia Weekly Times*, May 31, 1879.

³ *Ibid.*, May 31, 1879.

with the batteries, and as the infantry moved through the town to the front I sent with them four batteries—Wheeler and Heckman to the left, on the Seminary Road, and Dilger and Wilkinson to the right, with General Barlow's division. The remaining battery, Captain Weidrich, I left at Cemetery Hill, with General Steinwehr." Schurz advanced the Third, now become Schimmelpfennig's division, directing it to be deployed on the right of the First Corps in two lines. Shortly afterwards Barlow's division, arriving by the Emmitsburg Road, passed through the town to the north at 1.30 o'clock P. M., and, halting at the Almshouse, on the Harrisburg Road, to remove knapsacks, was then ordered to form at the double-quick on the right of the Third Division, in order to dislodge the enemy from a piece of woods to the right of the Eleventh Corps. Meanwhile, says Howard, as Schurz "was conducting his Third Division to battle I left orders for Steinwehr and Osborne (his chief of artillery) to halt and form upon Cemetery Ridge." Accompanying Barlow's division, Howard, upon reaching the right of the Eleventh Corps, turned and rode along the line to Doubleday's division on the left, and there seeing General Wadsworth, about 2 o'clock gave him orders to hold the position as long as he could and then retire. The rest of Howard's description, namely, that part of it respecting the disposition of the troops on the left of the line, differs so radically from all the other accounts and from the fact, that it seems to be a creation of the imagination. He says, "The left of Doubleday's line, resting on a small stream, called Willoughby's Run, extended to an elevation north of the Chambersburg Road, and was then refused. Then there was an interval occupied after 1 P. M. by Wheeler's and Dilger's batteries, belonging to the Eleventh Corps. From this place to Rock Creek, almost at right angles with the First Corps line, were the two divisions of the Eleventh Corps—Barlow's and Schimmelpfennig's. Such was the position of the troops."¹ The account of the disposition of the troops on the right is also very inaccurate, for it will be remembered that the 90th Pennsylvania, of Baxter's brigade, which was the flanking regiment at the right of the line when Robinson's division took position on Seminary Ridge, was refused and stretched along the Mummasburg Road. Schimmelpfennig's division went to the right of the 90th Pennsylvania in prolongation of its line, but, not connecting with it, left a dangerous break between. The Second Brigade, of Schimmelpfennig's division, was in a field farther to the right, near to and east of the Carlisle Road. Schurz was directed to move forward and seize a wooded height in front of his left, but before he had advanced any distance, information having been

¹ Campaign of Gettysburg, by O. O. Howard, *Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1876, p. 56.

brought shortly before 3 o'clock that part of Ewell's corps was coming in towards the right of the Federal line, between the Harrisburg and York Roads, the order was countermanded by Howard. The enemy was thus enabled to occupy this important height in force without material opposition. Hill fixes the time that the right wing of Ewell's corps (Rodes' division) made its appearance on his left, and was formed at right angles with his line, at about 2.30 o'clock.¹ The correct time was probably sooner, for Early states that Rodes "came down on the road from Mummasburg about 2 o'clock, P. M., and became engaged on Heth's left," and that he "arrived about an hour after Rodes got up,"² or at 3 P. M. Heth, on seeing Rodes thus engaged, "sought for and found General Lee, saying," as he narrates, "to the general, 'Rodes is very heavily engaged; had I not better attack?' General Lee replied, 'No; I am not prepared to bring on a general engagement to-day; Longstreet is not up.' Returning to my division, I soon discovered that the enemy were moving troops from my front and pushing them against Rodes. I reported this fact to General Lee, and again requested to be permitted to attack. Permission was given."³ Whilst Rodes was thus engaged Early's division had been brought into action on his left with great success. The movements of his brigades had been very prompt and rapid, which brought his troops in the rear and flank of the force then confronting Rodes.⁴ Early's batteries, posted on a slope between the Carlisle and Harrisburg Roads, were replied to by three of the batteries of the Eleventh Corps at the front, and by Weidrich's 3-inch rifled guns on Cemetery Hill. The shot from the latter, however, only reaching the line of the cavalry, Buford complained of the firing; but, as Howard naïvely remarks, "fortunately nobody on our side was killed by this fire." The attack of the enemy was at this time proceeding simultaneously along the whole line. Schimmelpfennig's division speedily gave way, falling back most probably before 3 o'clock. Wadsworth, in his report, says about 2.30;⁵ and according to the testimony of some, retreating "before the enemy's skirmishers."⁶ Barlow's division, on the extreme right, forming behind Rock Creek to meet a charge from Gordon's, Hays's and Avery's brigades, of Early's division, was next struck. In a moment the open fields beyond were filled with the disordered troops of Howard's corps flying in confusion. "Where Barlow was aligned lay a line of wounded and dead men who had fallen as they stood, and in

¹ Southern Historical Society Papers, vol. ii, p. 223.

² *Idem*, vol. iv, p. 253.

³ *Idem*, vol. iv, p. 158.

⁴ *Idem*, vol. iv, p. 254.

⁵ Conduct of the War, Part I, p. 307.

⁶ *Idem*, Part I, p. 308.

their midst lay Barlow himself, sorely stricken."¹ Major Brady, of the 17th Connecticut, Barlow's division, speaks of "the rush to the rear of troops directly in advance" of part of his regiment.² "The Federal flank," according to Major Daniel, of Early's staff, "had been shriveled up as a scroll, and the whole force gave way."³ The troops from Rodes' front moved towards the town, followed by Early's division; Hay's brigade, of the latter division, alone entering it.⁴ Howard himself corroborates the general features of the foregoing account by stating that "soon the division of the Eleventh Corps nearest Doubleday was flying to the shelter of the town, widening the gap there, and the enemy in line pressed rapidly through the interval. Of course Robinson and Wadsworth had to give way."⁵ After the Eleventh Corps had been driven from the field, but one alternative remained to the First. It had been successfully resisting the heavy shocks directed against its front by a force twofold greater than its own, but now there were superadded the blows on its flank from another force at least numerically equal to the first. The limit of human endurance had been reached, and it fell back, fighting as it went.

Howard was already on Cemetery Hill when Von Amsburg's regiment, of his corps, the first to arrive, reached there. Leading the way with his corps flag, he placed the regiment on the right of Steinwehr's line. General Ames, who succeeded Barlow after the latter had been severely wounded, came to him about the same time and said, "'I have no division; it is all cut to pieces,' to which Howard replied, 'Do what you can, Ames, to gather the fragments and extend the line to the right.' He did so, and succeeded better than he had feared."⁶ Yet it has been asserted that about 1,500 men of this corps were collected some miles in the rear of the field by the provost guard of the Twelfth Corps. The First Corps, compelled to yield to the severe pressure on their front and flanks, were still maintaining a position near the seminary, as they had received no orders to withdraw altogether, "although the enemy were marching on the town, and something had to be done immediately."⁷ The line of the Second Brigade, of the Third Division, had begun to give way not long after 3 P. M., and had fallen back slowly under a severe fire to a position which Meredith's brigade had taken shortly before, but the new line having been forced to give way on all sides, the whole of it shortly after withdrew to

¹ Address by Major Daniel, p. 20.

² Rebellion Record, vol. x, p. 181.

³ Address by Major Daniel, p. 20.

⁴ Southern Historical Society Papers, vol. iv, p. 254.

⁵ Campaign of Gettysburg, by O. O. Howard, *Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1876, p. 58.

⁶ *Idem*, July, 1876, p. 58.

⁷ Conduct of the War, Part 1, p. 310.

Cemetery Hill. The First Brigade, of the Third Division, forming the left of the corps line, was in like manner obliged, about 4 P. M., to retire from the field to the slight cover immediately west of the seminary, where it remained for a short time, until the batteries and most of the troops had moved through the town, when it retreated to Cemetery Hill. * * * * *

In the spirited account of the battle by Bates, it is stated¹ that Steinwehr saw that "however powerful and effective this own guns might prove while unassailed," * * * "they would be unable to live long when attacked unless protected." * * * "He accordingly threw up lunettes around each gun;" * * * "not mere heaps of stubble and turf, but solid works, of such height and thickness as to defy the most powerful bolts which the enemy could throw against them, with smooth and perfectly level platforms on which the guns could be worked." Upon whose authority this statement is based does not appear, but Hancock² characterizes it as "a great error; there were no works of the kind above described on that field when" he "arrived there, and all that" he "saw in the way of 'works' were some holes (not deep) dug to sink the wheels and trails of the pieces." Three regiments of the First Brigade, of Steinwehr's division, under the command of Colonel Costar, which had been ordered forward to the support of Schimmelpfennig's and Barlow's divisions, and were posted on the right of the Harrisburg Road, just north of the town, were borne down by Early's advancing troops, and most of them were taken prisoners. The remaining regiment of that brigade, as the Federal soldiers were retiring through the town, occupied the houses on either side of the Baltimore Pike, near its junction with the Emmitsburg Road and a stone wall just below the cemetery. From their cover they checked the advance of the enemy and protected the cannoniers on the heights above.³ The retreat, while trying to the troops of the First Corps, in consequence of their becoming entangled with the Eleventh in the streets of the town, was yet conducted by the former with some regard to order, the men frequently making a stand, until they finally reached the heights. * * * *

In view of all the evidence which has been presented, is not the conclusion fairly warranted that to the stubborn resistance of the First Corps of the Army of the Potomac on the first day of July, 1863, the ultimate defeat of Lee's invading army is, in a very large measure, to be attributed? A defeat which carried with it the utter destruction of the high hopes formed at the moment Lee commenced the execution

¹ Battle of Gettysburg, by Bates, p. 76.

² Southern Historical Society Papers, vol. v, p. 172.

³ History of the Pennsylvania Volunteers, vol. ii, pp. 365-66.

of his plan. So terminates the story of the first day's conflict—a struggle marked with more than ordinary bravery, coolness and endurance on the part of a large number of the troops engaged, and whose valor rendered possible the splendid victory which finally crowned the Union arms. An achievement, the moral effect of which was instantaneous; for men at once realized that at length a decisive victory had been won, and that henceforth the days of the Confederacy were numbered.

Impartial critics of the operations of the succeeding days consider that several grave mistakes were committed by the Confederates both as to a portion of their plan and to much of its execution. These errors have been the subject of acrimonious discussion on the part of some of the officers of high rank in the late Confederate service. The mistakes may be summed up as follows: want of co-operation or harmony of action on the 2d of July, it being asserted by Early and others that Longstreet was to commence the attack on the right at an early hour in the morning, and that he failed to make it until late in the afternoon. That on the 3d, the attack was to have been renewed at an early hour by Pickett and the other two divisions of Longstreet's corps, while a simultaneous assault was to have been made from the left by Ewell. That Longstreet again delayed until the afternoon, although the advance on the left had been begun at the proper time. Again, that the Federal position should have been turned by the south on the third day by extending the Confederate right so as to endanger Meade's communications with Washington. Again, that the tactical offensive course of Lee on the 2d of July was at variance with the plan of campaign settled upon before leaving Fredericksburg.¹ And again, that the assault of Pickett on the third day should not have been attempted, "the hopelessness" of which had been foreseen by Longstreet.² The repulse of this "hopeless" assault is thus graphically described by Longstreet:³ Pickett "swept past our artillery in splendid style, and the men marched steadily and compactly down the slope. As they started up the ridge, over one hundred cannon from the breastworks of the Federals hurled a rain of canister, grape and shell down upon them; still they pressed on until half-way up the slope, when the crest of the hill was lit with a solid sheet of flame as the masses of infantry rose and fired. When the smoke cleared away Pickett's division was gone. Nearly two-thirds of his men lay dead on the field, and the survivors were sullenly retreating down the hill. Mortal man could not have stood that fire. In half an hour the contested field was cleared and the battle of Gettysburg was over." The grand part which the

¹Annals of the War, p. 421.

²*Idem*, p. 429.

³*Idem*, p. 431.



MAJOR-GENERAL G. K. WARREN.

Union artillery took "in this death-struggle with the Confederacy" is here recognized. Hunt, its chief, and Tyler, his able assistant, opened upon Pickett's magnificent assaulting column with their guns from Cemetery Hill to the Round Tops, "tearing vast gaps in the advancing ranks and almost annihilating that proud array of eighteen thousand of the best Southern infantry."¹ Whilst Pickett's men were falling back within the Confederate lines, Lee rode toward them, and upon meeting General Wilcox, who was almost in tears at the condition of his brigade, said, "Never mind, general, *all this has been my fault*—it is *I* that have lost this fight, and you must help me out of it the best way you can."²

Thus the great battle was ended. Brilliant success had rewarded the valor of the men of the Army of the Potomac, directed by the heroism and skill of its chief. Then when the loud cheers of the victorious troops proclaimed the work accomplished, the good and gallant Meade, reverently uncovering his head gave utterance in the solemn words "Thank God!" to the profound gratitude which filled his heart.

¹ Memoir of General Robert O. Tyler, p. 15.

² "Three Months in the Southern States," by Lieutenant-Colonel Freemantle, p. 269. See also Southern Historical Society Papers, vol. iv, p. 109.

Extract from a Memoir of Chapman Biddle.

Read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, March 13, 1882, by
Charles Godfrey Leland.

“Him of whom I would speak to-night, no titles could make nobler than he appeared in the eyes of all who knew him. And so deeply do I feel that Chapman Biddle was truly one of nature's noblemen, that I recognize it as one of the brightest honors of my life to be called on to speak of him before this distinguished body of gentlemen and scholars. By your invitation, you have testified to the fact that he was one among thousands, and that his name will ever remain in this community, inscribed in its golden book. Whoever shall in future days write the history of this city, will not fail to give his name prominent place amongst her greatest sons.

“It was said by Sir Thomas Browne, that our fathers find their graves in our brief memories, as though they sank at once to oblivion in the first wave of the ocean of death. But there are names which do not sink; they are borne from billow to billow, to the shore where they remain eternally. And I speak from my soul when I say, that measured by merit, Chapman Biddle is one of these. * * * An off-shoot of the Biddulphs, the wolf-killers of the Saxons in the time of the Conqueror, many Biddles were citizens of London, towards the close of the seventeenth century. Among them was William Biddle, a Quaker merchant, who had, before his conversion, served as a major in Cromwell's army, and that William Biddle was the lineal ancestor of all the Biddles of Philadelphia. In every generation they have stood high. As soldiers, sailors, scientists, statesmen and lawyers, they have graced every profession they have adopted. Owen, the astronomer; Edward, the legislator, and Nicholas, whose name and fate are known to every school-boy, and who sank beneath the wave that engulfed the ‘Randolph,’ live still in our memories of the old wars. Clement was one of the quartermasters-general of the army of the Revolution, with the rank of colonel, and was the intimate friend of Washington, whose last letter, it is said, was written to him. Clement Cornell Biddle was his son; he served

his country as a colonel in the War of 1812, and it is unnecessary to recount before you, and at this time, how he acquitted himself as a civilian. The Philadelphia Saving Fund Society is a more enduring monument to his memory than any eulogium which can be pronounced. He married Mary Searle, daughter of John Barclay, in the year 1814, and three sons were born of this union—John Barclay, George Washington and Chapman. Two of these are no more: I am about to speak of the youngest.

“Chapman Biddle was born at his father's house on Spruce street, on the morning of the 22d of January, 1822. In 1835 he was sent to Saint Mary's College, a well-known seat of learning in Baltimore, where his brothers had studied before him. He profited well by his advantages; and many prizes which were conferred on him for proficiency in various studies, bear witness to his diligence and zeal.
* * * He was graduated from Saint Mary's well fitted even at his then early age to study a profession, but a fondness for travel prompted him to take a long voyage to South America and to visit the West India Islands. He remained away for a considerable time, and not without advantage, for no study offers such results to him who is diligent in its research as the observation of men and things as they present themselves in different countries and in different phases. And Chapman Biddle, as I have had ample opportunity to remark, in his later years, when I saw him almost annually in Europe, was, or had become, an exceptionally keen observer; one who read men and manners like books, and forgot nothing that he read. He cultivated the art of observation as some cultivate a science. He was shrewd as lawyers alone are shrewd—in observation—and seemed born to the profession which he adorned, thus giving unto his natural gift. In 1848 he was admitted to the bar. What a position he achieved at a bar whose members have been famous throughout the country and whose learning and acumen have given rise to the world-wide saying, ‘as clever as a Philadelphia lawyer,’ you all have heard, you, gentlemen of the robe, best can tell. It was said in one of the many obituary notices which appeared relative to him, that, while he was principally a consulting counsel, when, later in life, his practice called him into the courts, it was there that he became most widely known; that in preparing his cases and presenting them to the court and jury he was unexcelled; that everything was marked by forethought, and that all could comprehend his arguments.¹ Though not an orator in the popular, much-abused sense of the word, meaning actor, not speaker, he was ready and fluent, and his every word was the most appropriate

¹ *The Times*, December 10, 1880.

to the thought that he wished to express. Some hold that the standard of perfect handwriting is legibility, and I confess I am of them. Flourishes and the most elaborate ornamentation of the caligraphical art constitute excellence in the eyes of others; to compare oratory with penmanship, I may say that Chapman Biddle's speaking was ideally legible.

"Physiology has of late declared that our ancestors live in us far more literally than we suppose. When, for instance, a man distinguishes himself by antiquarian tastes, we are almost certain to find that some of his family have been antiquaries, even if in searching for them we go back several generations; and it is wonderful when we remark around what a small number of names the great lawyers of England grouped. William Biddle, to whom I have referred, the ancestor six generations back of the Biddles of to-day, was a very eminent member of the Society of Friends, and came to New Jersey from England in 1681. The principles of his belief were guarded by his descendants until the time of the Revolutionary War. Then many withdrew from the faith which had been held by their ancestors for a few generations, and following the bent of their inclinations, dormant for a time, appeared as militants. The love of the army, regenerated after the lapse of a century, has remained with most of the family ever since; and Chapman Biddle, the son of the organizer and first captain of the State Fencibles, in whose ranks, in 1812, marched such men as Joseph R. Ingersoll, Henry J. Williams—both now in the other world—and the venerable James J. Barclay, still actively useful and self-sacrificingly industrious, was pre-eminent as a disciplinarian and an officer. During the 'Native American' riots in 1844, under John Cadwallader, his cousin, the late judge of the United States District Court, Mr. Biddle served as an orderly sergeant. The organization was known as 'Company I, unattached,' and subsequently became a part of the 1st Regt. Penna. Artillery. When it passed out of existence, Mr. Biddle was the lieutenant commanding. He aided to reorganize the old body in 1849, and, as captain, commanded it during the disturbances which agitated the city in that year. For a long time before the breaking out of the war, the militia, and in fact all things military, had fallen into such ridicule and disrepute throughout the country that it required men vastly superior to vulgar prejudice to take practical interest in them, and such an interest Chapman Biddle unvaryingly took. I speak with pleasure of these citizen officers, and these matters of the past, for it was with the Honorable John Cadwallader that I studied law, and I served during the 'Emergency' in what was then still called Chapman Biddle's Company, of which I am about

to speak; and at Carlisle the young men who were there with it, raw and untried, but filled with the spirit of their former captain, only a week absent from their homes, stood for a whole night under a fierce fire of shell and grape, without even the excitement of being permitted to return it, and without flinching. This I witnessed, and that night, at our gun and standing by my side, my brother received a wound from which he eventually died.

"In the month of April, 1861, some days after the firing upon Fort Sumter, a few gentlemen, original members of Company 'I,' met together in Mr. Biddle's office to discuss the most advisable manner of forming a company of artillery to aid in the protection of the city. From this little gathering originated what has been called "as fine a body of uniformed militia as had ever been seen," and Chapman Biddle was by acclamation named its captain. It adopted at first the name of the old organization, 'Company I;' but shortly after it became 'Company A, First Regiment of Pennsylvania Artillery.' Two hundred and sixty young men, of the best and oldest names of Philadelphia, were rapidly enrolled, and the discipline and bearing of its members were so noticeable that the command appeared like a body of professional soldiers.

"I remember that on July the 4th, in 1861, when a parade of the militia and of the United States troops stationed in or near Philadelphia was taking place, the people along the route, whenever Company 'A' appeared, shouted, 'Look, here come the Regulars!'

"An epitome of the history of Chapman Biddle's service in the field was given in an article in an evening paper at the time of his death. In speaking of such a subject, I cannot do better than to quote from that sketch; for while the topic is most worthy of detail, amplifying it would cause me to transgress the limits of my time:—

"'Mr. Biddle remained at the head of this battery until the late summer of 1862, when the disastrous ending of General Pope's campaign and that in the Peninsula showed the urgent necessity of greatly increasing the strength of the Union armies. President Lincoln had by proclamations following each other in rapid succession, summoned more than 600,000 men to arms; and it was in consequence of the call of August the 9th that Mr. Biddle set about the task of raising a regiment of infantry. His cousin, Colonel Alexander Biddle, aided in the undertaking. When about 600 men had been enlisted, the arrival of a contingent of two companies and a half from the western part of Pennsylvania placed the regiment in a condition to take the field. It was mustered into the service of the United States as the 121st Penna. Vols., with Chapman Biddle as colonel, Elisha W. Davis (who had

come with the western companies), lieutenant-colonel, and Alexander Biddle, major.

“ ‘ On the 5th day of September the regiment left Philadelphia, numbering upwards of 800 men, and when arrived at Washington, went into camp near that city, while waiting for arms. From that time forward the untiring energy of, and the steady discipline maintained by, Colonel Biddle made his command remarkable for its efficiency. It was attached to the First Army Corps so long as the latter had existence, and fought in it at the battles of Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville and Gettysburg.’ * * * ‘ The hardships of 1862, of which this engagement (Fredericksburg) was the culmination, were discontinued by the regiment going into winter-quarters. There it remained continuously until the spring of 1863, excepting when it took part in the memorable attempt to ford the Rappahannock before Fredericksburg, in January, which the vigilance of Lee rendered ineffectual, and which thenceforward was known as “ Burnside’s Mud March.”

“ ‘ Colonel Biddle, whose sedentary occupations rendered him scarcely fitted to endure the hardships of army life, had for some time been suffering from disorders arising from exposure, and was finally obliged to avail himself of a leave of absence for sixty days. He returned to his home to recruit his health, and, after an irksome confinement, reassumed his duties in the field in the month of March, 1863.

“ ‘ At Gettysburg, Colonel Biddle was in command of the First Brigade of the Third Division, formed of the 121st, 151st and 142d Penna. Regts., the 20th New York and a battery of four guns. The night of the 30th of June was passed seven or eight miles from the town. On the morning of July the 1st the brigade was put in motion, and was marched to take up its position on the field. It was in action all day on the extreme left of the line, about a third of a mile west of the theological seminary. The 121st was posted on the left of the brigade, and consequently was on the extreme left of the Union force. The enemy’s line overlapped ours by from one to two regiments, which placed Colonel Biddle’s command under an oblique as well as a fierce direct fire. The loss was terrible. Of the 1,287 officers and men of whom the brigade was composed on the morning of the first day, but 390 were left at night. Seven officers and 256 men formed the regiment when the action commenced; two officers and 82 men answered to the evening call. Colonel Biddle, while leading his men, had his horse shot under him, and later in the day was himself wounded in the head; as the injury was not serious, he still remained in command. Colonel Alexander Biddle escaped unhurt, and his preservation was

the more remarkable, as his horse received five balls. Towards evening the brigade fell back through the town, and took up its position close to the cemetery. The second and third days it was occupied principally in supporting the advance, and thus suffered but little during the remainder of the engagement. From that time until the following winter he remained with the army, but then, influenced by important considerations, he was compelled to tender his resignation, and was honorably discharged from the service December 10, 1863.¹

“Here ends my extract from the short report of a daily paper, of Chapman Biddle and his regiment. When the Bar of Philadelphia met together in tribute to the memory of its illustrious representative, lawyers who like him had served their country in her hour of need, spoke in language earnest and affectionate of their comrade and their friend. ‘There was no period of responsibility or danger,’ said one, ‘in which Colonel Biddle was not as calm, as cool, as courageous, as considerate as he was in his office, or as we all know he was in the trial of a case. In a driving storm of snow, at midnight, on a march, you would find him just the same courteous, cool, perfectly self-possessed gentleman, taking care of his men—thinking of others and not of himself. * * * I know how brilliant a record he made at Gettysburg in the handling of the First Brigade of the Third Division of Reynolds’ corps, in the first day, when our corps was practically subjected to the attack of half the Southern army, and only late in the afternoon fell back slowly through the town of Gettysburg. Yet during all that time, Colonel Biddle’s brigade, stationed immediately to the left of the Iron Brigade, as it was called, commanded by General Solomon Meredith, in Wadsworth’s corps, held its position with perfect strength and resolution, and was drawn back at the end of that disastrous first day’s fight in perfect order, after having lost in killed and wounded, I think, over two-thirds of those engaged. There is probably no instance showing more complete discipline and masterliness of management than the bringing back of such a command after such a contest, in such perfect condition and without a semblance of disorder.’ These were the words of one who knew him and who deemed him ‘as firm as a rock to lean on; as firm and true a friend in civil life as in military.’² An officer who had served under him told how his brigade at Gettysburg, in the language of military men, was ‘in the air,’ its left without support of any kind. ‘It bore the shock of an attack from a very large force, overwhelming in its numerical

¹ *The Evening Telegraph*, December 10, 1880.

² From the address of Richard L. Ashhurst, Esq. Mr. Ashhurst, admitted to the Bar in 1859, entered the army August 30, 1862, as first lieutenant and adjutant of the 150th Penna. Vols. He was promoted after Chancellorsville, to the brevet rank of captain; and after Gettysburg to that of brevet major.

superiority, yet it stood that attack with wonderful courage and persistency, and that it did so was due in a large measure to the skillful handling of that small body of men by Colonel Biddle, to his great personal gallantry and the inspiring effect of his splendid courage. He was wounded, but remained in the field without regard to his own condition.' That same officer, with every opportunity to judge, spoke of his indifference to his own health, when hardship and exposure had broken him down, and that 'for all his services and all his sacrifices he received no acknowledgment other than the affection of his fellow-soldiers and the gratitude of his fellow-citizens.'"¹

"In a letter from Boston, dated March 14, 1881, to the *Philadelphia Times*, Colonel John B. Bachelder relates an incident of Mr. Biddle's conspicuous courage, and the great danger in which he unhesitatingly placed himself at Gettysburg. Colonel Biddle was in command of the extreme left brigade of the Union army, when General Pettigrew's brigade of North Carolinians swept forward in the final Confederate advance, vastly outnumbering and outflanking Colonel Biddle's command. The contest was desperate and bloody. The right of Pettigrew's brigade advanced more rapidly than the rest of his line, and, being unopposed, poured in its fire by 'left oblique' upon Biddle's troops. The men of one of the regiments wavered, and seemed about to break before the heavy front of the Southerners and their withering oblique volleys. Colonel Biddle pressed into the bending ranks, seized the colors in his hand and rode to the front and shook them above his head. Some years after, the writer of that letter made the acquaintance of Captain Davis, who commanded a company in the 47th North Carolina Regiment on the occasion spoken of, and entered into conversation with him upon different details of the great battle. Captain Davis finally said, 'at what part of the field was General Reynolds killed?' Colonel Bachelder answered, 'In the woods, at your left, while engaging Archer's brigade, in the morning, at the very opening of the battle.' 'Are you sure he was not killed in front of Pettigrew's brigade?' 'As sure as one can be who did not see the act,' was responded. 'Thank God, I have always feared I was responsible for his death,' said Captain Davis, and added, 'What general officer was killed on my front?' 'None.' 'But,' he continued, 'I saw him colors in hand, dash into his disordered ranks to rally his troops, and calling to Frank Escue, a sharpshooter of my command, I directed the shot and saw him fall, and I have always feared that in the heat

¹ From the address of Joseph G. Rosengarten, Esq., who entered the 121st Regiment at its formation, as first lieutenant, and, being promoted to the rank of brevet major, served at Gettysburg on the staff of General Reynolds. Mr. Rosengarten was admitted to the Bar in 1856.

and excitement of battle, I had been the direct cause of the death of a gallant officer.' 'You can set your mind at rest on that point,' said Colonel Bachelder, 'for there was no general officer killed in your front; but if you would like to see the man you thought dead, you can do so when you are in Philadelphia, by calling on Colonel Chapman Biddle.' I have selected this incident in the life of Mr. Biddle as tending to illustrate his most striking quality—calm intrepidity. Ask the comrades of his boyhood, and the friends of his later years, if this instance is isolated? And yet naturally, and with a feeling akin to veneration, I cite this story of the intellectual lawyer, whose name will be forever associated, by this act of pre-eminent valor, as well as by his scholarly address before this society, with 'The First Day of the Battle of Gettysburg.' Out of that storm of conflict, never to be forgotten while the records of bravery endure, and never to become a dull story while courage and gallant leadership shall be held as glorious—of the 121st Regiment only eighty men came back. It had borne the brunt of the fight and stood stubbornly with its wasted ranks against the solid battalions of the enemy. And the steady withdrawal of the First Brigade, under Chapman Biddle, stemmed the tide that was swelling to a torrent, and made a masterly retreat of an incipient panic. I have spoken of him as a soldier; I have recalled him to you as a lawyer. As a man, as a friend; in the intercourse of daily life, in all the domestic relations, he was irreproachable. On the same solemn occasion that I have spoken of, at the meeting of the Bar convened in memory of him who was no more, eloquent words spake his praise. 'He lived a life pure, upright and without reproach,' said a deeply-read lawyer, who reflects honor upon our judiciary;¹ 'and now that the influence of a life so well rounded and so well spent is hereafter to speak to us only from the grave, and by reminiscences which we shall gladly recall, let us cherish his memory with gratitude because of the legacy he has bequeathed to each one of us, striving to emulate his virtues, and to grow better because of the example which he has set before us.' A brilliant and accomplished advocate, now standing in a representative professional position, in the eye of the nation,² declared: 'In the whole course of my experience, in my profession, and out of it, I have not seen one man who excelled him in some of the most beautiful and attractive features of manhood. He was calm, he was cheerful, he was reasonable, he was kind; he was the soul of honor. His presence spoke for him. At a glance it could be seen who and what he was. He was no 'counterfeit presentment.' His life was so

¹ The Honorable Joseph Allison, President Judge of the Court of Common Pleas No. 1.

² The Honorable Benjamin Harris Brewster, Attorney-General of the United States.

clean and clear and blameless that we should strive to imitate him.' Another friend, professional and personal, a man upright and profound, gave forth the feelings of his heart when he said, 'It is not so much upon his well-earned reputation as a great lawyer that I like to dwell upon the memory of Chapman Biddle. It is rather upon those amiable traits which rounded and completed a beautiful character. He was kind and gentle as a young girl, a true friend, and so delicate and considerate in his treatment of all who came within the sphere of his influence, that he was universally beloved by those who were thrown into immediate contact with him.'¹ And then how touching are the harmonious words of another judge:² 'We have to-day to regret that he has fallen while his sun was yet in its zenith, while he was still in possession of the unimpaired powers of his mature manhood; and to regret, as we all do, that he could not have lived many years to have perpetuated the beneficial influence which he always exercised upon all who came within the sphere of his usefulness. But, except for that, and the great personal loss which his friends have sustained, we have little to regret. The record is closed. The book is shut up. There is not a blot or a stain to be seen anywhere upon it. It is radiant all over with all those graces and benevolences and admirable traits of character which in so high a degree characterized the man during his life. It is a record to which his family, his brethren in the profession and his friends may always point, not only with satisfaction, but with a just pride.' A broad-minded and large-hearted member of the same profession, moved and thrilled his auditors by the sweetness of his unstudied phrases. 'We mourn to-day for Chapman Biddle. None of us can either truthfully regret or complain that his was an incomplete and unfinished life. It is true he had not lived out the threescore years and ten allotted to man; but he has lived so long that all his seniors honor his memory, and all his juniors can safely follow his example. Who would wish to live longer? His duty to his country, his duty to the community in which he lived, his duty to his clients, have all been well and faithfully met. It was not my privilege to have known him in his early years, as many of you have known him, but for the past five years my professional association with him has been of the closest character; and I come here to-day to pay my tribute to his virtues; to say that I confided and trusted in him as a lawyer and a counsellor; that I honored him as a gentleman; that I loved him living, and that I mourn him as my departed friend.'³

¹ From the Address of Charles Hart, Esq.

² The Honorable M. Russell Thayer, President Judge of the Court of Common Pleas No. 4.

³ From the Address of the Honorable John Scott, General Solicitor of the Pennsylvania Railroad. Mr. Scott sat in the United States Senate from 1862 to 1875.

"In all that pertained to culture, Chapman Biddle's taste was perfect; and by his advice and with his liberality, he encouraged all works whose object was to elevate the artistic standard. At the time of his death he was the chairman of the Committee on Works of Art of the Fairmount Park Art Association. Himself an excellent draughtsman, his practical knowledge aided him at once to detect the false or meretricious in Art, whether of color or design; and to his suggestions Philadelphians are mainly indebted for that lovely fountain whose misty spray gladdens our eyes in the long summer days, which stands near Woodford in the Park. I observed when we used to meet abroad that his great pleasure was to frequent galleries and the repositories of Art; to rest for hours in the great library of the British Museum, and in the exhibition halls of the South Kensington. The character of his written composition was, as would become such a man, clear, concise and faultlessly logical. The only work, I believe, he ever published elevates him at once to the rank of an historian. That short but deep-studied and minutely accurate history of 'The First Day of the Battle of Gettysburg,' which, as an address, was read before you upon the occasion of the presentation to this society of the portrait of General Reynolds, is one of the most valuable contributions to the literature of the war. And be it remembered that in its half-hundred pages the author makes no mention of himself, or of the services which on that day he rendered to his country by his valor, his prudence and his skill.

"Personally, Mr. Biddle impressed me as being a man of strong feelings and quick impulses, which were under perfect control. Self-control springs only from a brain whose functions are performed with entire precision. That harmonious working of the great engine of thought, blended with a heart welling over with sympathy, made him a remarkable man. Self-possessed, refined, and subtle of perception, a great lawyer and an ideal soldier, his was a character such as we meet in romance but rarely see in daily life. We cannot understand it, for such men adapt themselves so happily to existence; they glide so easily through its devious ways, that, like Abraham, we recognize not the unearthly beauty of the visitant until his departure in celestial light. * * *

"In January, 1880, he relinquished his connection with the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, whose solicitor he had been from March, 1871, until his appointment in 1877 as the general counsel. The many important trusts which he administered, and his large chamber practice, occupied his time until well nigh the close. On the afternoon of Saturday, the 27th of November, 1880, he returned wearied and in pain

to his home. From across its threshold he never stepped again. Paragraphs in the daily prints told that he was lying seriously ill, that he was resting somewhat easier, that but slight hope was entertained of his recovery, and then—that there was none. At length came the dire announcement of death, the due notices, and finally, the many obituary histories which anticipate in the chronicles of the time the last sad chronicle—the epitaph on the tomb.

“He did not die in the war, but he died of it. The almost imperceptible germ of his only constitutional defect, developed by torrid heat and strengthened by pestilential air, grew to be the poison-tree whose branches at length overshadowed his life. When I look back on the days of the great struggle, it seems as if I, and all who were busy then, whether as soldiers, poets, editors or partisans, must have lived through centuries. A new generation of men has stepped into the arena of life, and the contests of the day obliterate the recollections of the past. We are forgetting the story of the great Rebellion; we are forgetting how men like Chapman Biddle once listened to the answering names of the survivors of the great battle; and we remember only that his name has been stricken from the roll of life that he might answer to the roll-call of the immortals. In the history of the Church it is not those alone who died by sword and flame whom we revere as martyrs; it is those as well who for the faith lingered upon the cross, and whose pains were prolonged by rack and wheel. Annually we decorate the graves of the dead who fell beneath the battle-flags of the Republic. They are scattered over the country—north and south, east and west—from where the linnea borealis loves the six months’ snow to the sun-bathed land of the palm. But there are graves not yet filled, though the dread Angel of Death has allotted them already, and with relentless eye is watching the shattered survivors of the War of Emancipation. There are thousands, who, like Chapman Biddle, suffered, lingered and died. You all have known such men. It may be that many present bear upon their breasts scars received from the advancing foe, and that others amongst you still languish from the fevers of the Wilderness, or the unmentionable agonies endured at Libby or Belle Isle. Let them not depart without honor; for when they arise to share the radiance which falls on the Elect, we know that then, in remembrance of how and for what cause they died, they shall stand foremost in the ‘bright ranks that guard the Eternal Throne.’

“It is to the type of this class that I offer my tribute in the name of all present—that I offer it to the memory of a ‘brave, honorable man.’”

Roster of the 121st Regt. Penna. Vols.

FIELD AND STAFF.

Colonel Chapman Biddle, enrolled August 1, 1862; slightly wounded at Gettysburg; honorably discharged December 10, 1863.

Lieutenant-Colonel Elisha W. Davis, enrolled August 1, 1862; resigned April 20, 1863.

Major Alexander Biddle, enrolled August 1, 1862; promoted to lieutenant-colonel April 20, 1863; promoted to colonel December 11, 1863; honorably discharged January 9, 1864.

Adjutant Thomas M. Hall, enrolled August 1, 1862; promoted to major December 11, 1863; promoted to lieutenant-colonel February 11, 1864; honorably discharged on account of disability, May 27, 1864.

*Sergeant-Major West Funk, enrolled September 3, 1862; promoted to second lieutenant of Company "G" December 13, 1862; to first lieutenant Company "G," October 20, 1863; to major, September 7, 1864; wounded at Dabney's Mills, February 6, 1865; brevet lieutenant-colonel, April 1, 1865.

Quartermaster William C. Atwood, enrolled August 1, 1862; resigned January 3, 1863.

Surgeon H. P. Hottenstein, enrolled September 3, 1862; resigned October 23, 1862.

*Assistant Surgeon J. A. Ramsey, enrolled September 3, 1862; promoted to surgeon, November 7, 1862.

Assistant Surgeon John J. Comfort, enrolled August 18, 1862; promoted to surgeon of 13th Pennsylvania Reserves, December 17, 1862.

Assistant Surgeon Pressly M. Kerr, enrolled December 15, 1862; resigned January 9, 1863.

Assistant Surgeon Alex. M. Wilson, enrolled January 14, 1863; discharged July 27, 1863.

*Assistant Surgeon Francis F. Davis, enrolled August 27, 1863.

Chaplain William C. Ferriday, enrolled September 14, 1862; resigned December 23, 1862.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

COMPANY "A."

Captain George E. Ridgway; age, 33; enlisted August 28, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; discharged for disability March 24, 1863.

First Lieutenant George W. Brickley; enlisted August 28, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; killed December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.

* Second Lieutenant James S. Warner; age, 21; enlisted August 29, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; promoted to first lieutenant December 13, 1862; promoted to captain March 25, 1863; promoted to lieutenant-colonel May 28, 1864; taken prisoner October 1, 1864, at Poplar Grove Church.

SERGEANTS.

* First Sergeant Philander R. Gray; age, 25; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; promoted to second lieutenant December 13, 1862; promoted to first lieutenant March 25, 1863; promoted to quartermaster October 10, 1863.

* Second Sergeant Moore Bridges; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.

Third Sergeant Julius A. Dunham; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; discharged for disability February 23, 1863.

Fourth Sergeant Alexander McDowell; age, 17; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; taken prisoner July 1, 1863, Gettysburg, Pa.; wounded May 5, 1864, Wilderness, Va.; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps, December, 1864.

* Fifth Sergeant Henry H. Herpst; age, 27; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; promoted to first sergeant; promoted to second lieutenant March 25, 1863; promoted to first lieutenant October 10, 1863; promoted to captain May 28, 1864.

CORPORALS.

First Corporal John B. Allender; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; wounded, with loss of left arm, at Spotsylvania Court-House, May 12, 1864; honorably discharged September 18, 1864.

Second Corporal Dennis D. Moriarity; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; promoted to sergeant December 13, 1862; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps May 2, 1864.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.



CAPTAIN GEORGE E. RIDGWAY.

Third Corporal Emanuel Widle; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; honorably discharged for disability May 20, 1863.

Fourth Corporal Francis H. Hilliard; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; died August 2, 1863.

* Fifth Corporal Benjamin F. Baldwin; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.

Sixth Corporal John B. Manson; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; killed December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.

* Seventh Corporal John M. Bingham; age, 19; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; promoted to first sergeant; wounded at Fredericksburg December 13, 1862, and at Chancellorsville, also at Gettysburg and Cold Harbor; promoted to first lieutenant July 19, 1864; taken prisoner October 1, 1864.

Eighth Corporal John Burns; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; killed December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.

PRIVATES.

Jacob Allebach; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; promoted to corporal November 25, 1862; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps April 1, 1864.

Henry Aten; age, 18; enlisted February 15, 1864; transferred to Company "E," 191st Regt. Penna. Vols., June 1, 1865.

James Bailey; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; taken prisoner; died January 28, 1865, at Annapolis, Md.

James B. Brown; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; died December 30, 1862.

Orin S. Babcock; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; killed December 13, 1862, at Frederickburg, Va.

Calvin D. Bingham; age, 15; enlisted March 21, 1864; taken prisoner May 5, 1864, at Wilderness, Va.; died November 15, 1864, at Florence, S. C., while a prisoner.

* Jonathan W. Brink; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; promoted to corporal.

* James D. Black; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.

* William Beck; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; promoted to sergeant.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

William J. Bingham; age, 21; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; died February 20, 1863.

Henry A. Cornwell; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; promoted to corporal, December 14, 1862; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; died July 8, 1863.

Charles C. Connelly; age, 24; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; promoted to corporal December 29, 1862; promoted to sergeant May 23, 1863; promoted to sergeant-major October 23, 1863; wounded and missing in action on May 5, 1864, at Wilderness, Va.

* Abraham L. Cosway; age, 24; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.

Samuel G. Crawford; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; honorably discharged July 27, 1865.

William J. Connelly; enlisted April 23, 1864; transferred to Company "E," 191st Regt. Penna. Vols., June 1, 1865.

John R. Donnelly; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; in hospital at muster-out.

* William G. Dickey; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; promoted to corporal November 4, 1863; promoted to sergeant; wounded April 6, 1865; promoted to sergeant-major May 1, 1865.

* James F. Dawson; age, 18; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.

William R. Dawson; age, 17; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; prisoner July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps November 23, 1864.

Sylvester L. Durham; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; missing May 5, 1864, Wilderness, Va.

* Philip H. Dillon; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.

William M. De Woody; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; honorably discharged July 1, 1863.

Garrett De Mill; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; honorably discharged, February 28, 1863.

Thomas W. Eaton; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; honorably discharged December 2, 1862.

Solomon Engle; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; promoted to corporal, February 1, 1863; killed July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

* Thomas Fair; age, 18; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.

* Samuel Fair; age, 20; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; promoted to corporal; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.

Augustus Funk; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; wounded; honorably discharged June 5, 1865.

* Moses Funk; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.

Levi Grimm; age, 44; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; honorably discharged for disability July 25, 1863.

Wal. W. Gilleland; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; honorably discharged February 25, 1863.

* Andrew J. Gibbons; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.

* Jacob Gibbon; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.

Francis Gray; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; wounded at Fredericksburg, Va.; in hospital at muster-out.

Henry E. Ginter; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps March 14, 1864.

Joseph B. Hart; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; honorably discharged for disability December 24, 1863.

Daniel Hoxworth; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; honorably discharged for disability April 1, 1863.

Sidney Heckard; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; wounded December 13, 1862, Fredericksburg, Va.; taken prisoner December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; Died December 21, 1862, at Richmond, Va.

John F. Hughes; age, 19, enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; wounded December 13, 1862, Fredericksburg, Va.; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; taken prisoner July 1, 1863, Gettysburg, Pa.; discharged February 25, 1865.

Solomon D. Hughes; enlisted August 23, 1862 at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; died January 9, 1864.

George Hesler; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; discharged July 18, 1865.

Aaron H. Harrison; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; promoted to corporal June 1, 1864; killed June 18, 1864, at Petersburg, Va.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

* James W. Ingham; enlisted August 27, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.

Ebenezer H. James; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; died July 16, 1863.

Joseph Kellerman; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; honorably discharged for disability, February 28, 1863.

William H. Kelly; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; killed July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.

Chambers Lawrence; age, 22; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; wounded December 13, 1862, Fredericksburg, Va.; died of wounds, December 17, 1862.

John E. Lapsley; age, 20; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; taken prisoner July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; honorably discharged May 13, 1865.

Owen Lyons; enlisted April 20, 1864; transferred to Company "E," 191st Regt. Penna. Vols., June 1, 1865.

* Henry H. Mull; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.

* Jesse M. Manson; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.

George R. Morris; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg; honorably discharged May 29, 1864.

Thomas A. Morrison; age, 22; enlisted August 29, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; honorably discharged April 22, 1863.

James M. Manson; enlisted August 23, 1862; wounded at Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862, and died from effects of wounds.

Alexander McKinley; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps April 1, 1864.

Prior McMurray; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; killed December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.

William A. McKenzie; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; killed December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.

William McKenzie; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; killed June 18, 1864, at Petersburg, Va.

John McCool; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; killed July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.

* Israel T. Phelps; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

Almiron Parker; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps, November 15, 1863.

David E. Perry; enlisted March 2, 1864; transferred to Company "E," 191st Regt. Penna. Vols., June 1, 1865.

* William H. Potter; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; promoted to first sergeant.

* Newton B. Riddle; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.

* Abraham Rhodebarger; age, 24; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.

* Robert B. Rodgers; enlisted February 15, 1864.

* Franklin F. Sands; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.

* William M. Stover; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.

George Shawgo; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; wounded April 2, 1865, Five Forks, Va.; in hospital at muster-out.

* George Shingeldecker; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.

John B. Shaner; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; discharged April 6, 1863.

W. A. Shingeldecker; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; discharged February 20, 1864.

Henry D. Shaner; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; discharged April 10, 1864.

George Savage; enlisted February 15, 1864; transferred to Company "E," 191st Regt, Penna. Vols., June 1, 1865.

Orpheus W. Scott; enlisted March 12, 1864; transferred to Company "E," 191st Regt. Penna. Vols., June 1, 1865.

John H. Stroop; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; killed December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.

T. C. Shelmerdine; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; died December 6, 1863.

Nicholas Thompson; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; honorably discharged June 1, 1864.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

David W. Tripp; enlisted August 22, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; died July 6, 1863.

David C. Tyrell; enlisted August 22, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; taken prisoner December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; Died in Libby Prison, Richmond, Va.

Joel C. Usher; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps, September 1, 1863.

*Jonathan Wygant; age, 21; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.

John Wygant; age, 20; enlisted February 15, 1864; transferred to Company "E," 191st Regt. Penna. Vols., June 1, 1865.

James Withneck; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; died December 22, 1862.

Henry D. Weaver; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; killed by lightning, April 20, 1865.

William C. Waits; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Franklin, Venango Co., Pa.; killed July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.

COMPANY "B."

Captain Alexander Laurie; age, 35; enlisted September 5, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; resigned July 21, 1863.

First Lieutenant Charles F. Hulse; age, 20; enlisted September 4, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; promoted to captain June 22, 1863; honorably discharged November 8, 1864.

Second Lieutenant John Iungerich; age, 19; enlisted September 5, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; promoted to first lieutenant June 22, 1863; promoted to adjutant December 11, 1863; wounded May 25, 1864, at North Anna, Va.; died of wounds, June 23, 1864.

SERGEANTS.

First Sergeant Edward Scheerer; age, 40; enlisted August 15, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; killed December 13, 1862, at battle of Fredericksburg, Va.

Second Sergeant Adam F. Zinnel; age, 24; enlisted August 15, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; promoted to first sergeant December 14, 1862; promoted to first lieutenant December 11, 1863; promoted to captain November 9, 1864; honorably discharged January 5, 1865.

Third Sergeant George Keen; age, 42; enlisted September 3, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; died of wounds January 5, 1863.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.



CAPTAIN CHARLES F. HULSE.

Fourth Sergeant Thomas Wheeler; age, 19; enlisted August 11, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; honorably discharged March 24, 1863.

* Fifth Sergeant Thomas F. Clarke; age, 21; enlisted August 13, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; promoted to third sergeant; promoted to second sergeant.

CORPORALS.

First Corporal William Hardy; age, 32; enlisted August 21, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; promoted to sergeant February, 1863; promoted to color-sergeant February, 1863; killed May 11, 1864, at Laurel Hill, Va.

Second Corporal Edward Wheeler; age, 22; enlisted August 11, 1862; at Philadelphia, Pa.; promoted to sergeant January 22, 1864; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps January 9, 1865.

Third Corporal Reath M. Snodgrass; age, 18; enlisted August 15, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; killed December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.

Fourth Corporal Edward W. Steffan; age, 21; enlisted August 29, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; taken prisoner October 1, 1864; promoted to sergeant May 13, 1864; honorably discharged May 31, 1865.

*Fifth Corporal William H. Whaland; age, 21; enlisted August 13, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; promoted to sergeant May 13, 1864; taken prisoner October 1, 1864.

Sixth Corporal Alexander Cummings; age, 19; enlisted August 13, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; promoted to sergeant December 14, 1862; discharged October 27, 1863.

*Seventh Corporal Joseph Rylands; age, 25; enlisted August 21, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; promoted to corporal October 17, 1862; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; promoted to sergeant April 1, 1863; wounded May 7, 1864; promoted to first sergeant June 22, 1864; promoted to first lieutenant November 9, 1864; promoted to captain January 6, 1865.

Eighth Corporal James Slyoff; age, 42; enlisted August 20, 1862; promoted to corporal October 30, 1862; honorably discharged May 31, 1865.

MUSICIAN.

Kilian Grimm; age, 20; enlisted August 20, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

PRIVATES.

*Simon Berg ; age, 44 ; enlisted August 15, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.

John Behler ; age, 20 ; enlisted August 15, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa. ; transferred to Invalid Corps September 26, 1863.

*Frederick Bergner ; age, 21 ; enlisted August 15, 1862 ; wounded May 25, 1864.

Thomas B. Cave ; age, 33 ; enlisted August 21, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa. ; promoted to corporal December 14, 1862 ; transferred to United States Navy April 19, 1864.

John Develin ; age, 22 ; enlisted August 13, 1862 ; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va. ; transferred to Invalid Corps, September 26, 1863.

Peter Dorsey ; age, 27 ; enlisted August 20, 1862 ; killed May 5, 1864, at Wilderness, Va.

Charles Dunlap ; age, 35 ; enlisted August 20, 1862 ; sick at muster-out.

*George A. Echenwick ; age, 42 ; enlisted August 12, 1862.

*John Ehrlick ; age, 38 ; enlisted August 19, 1862 ; wounded May 25, 1864.

*William Geiger ; age, 22 ; enlisted August 13, 1862.

Andrew Grunn ; age, 31 ; enlisted August 28, 1862 ; wounded and missing December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.

*John F. Graff ; age, 26 ; enlisted August 12, 1862.

Henry Geiger ; age, 18 ; enlisted August 14, 1862 ; honorably discharged September 26, 1864.

Charles C. Hauseman ; age, 33 ; enlisted August 21, 1862 ; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va. ; transferred to Invalid Corps November 13, 1863.

Charles Hille ; age, 39 ; enlisted August 15, 1862 ; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va. ; died March 5, 1863.

Samuel B. Haines ; age, 21 ; enlisted August 16, 1862 ; promoted to commissary sergeant August 16, 1862 ; promoted to quartermaster January 5, 1863 ; died February 23, 1863.

Charles Katz ; age, 29 ; enlisted August 15, 1862 ; wounded May 5, 1864, at Wilderness, Va. ; honorably discharged May 15, 1865.

*George Koch ; age, 21 ; enlisted August 19, 1862 ; promoted to corporal.

William Klemet ; age, 34 ; enlisted August 16, 1862 ; taken prisoner December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va. ; transferred to Invalid Corps, March 14, 1864.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

Michael Kirchner; age, 18; enlisted August 21, 1862; wounded February 5, 1865, at Dabney's Mills, Va.; honorably discharged May, 16, 1865.

Victor Kneblher; age, 23; enlisted August 28, 1862; wounded and prisoner December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; died January 6, 1863, at Richmond, Va.

Patrick Kinsella; age, 20; enlisted August 14, 1862; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; transferred to Invalid Corps November 13, 1863.

Jacob Lentz; age, 40; enlisted September 3, 1862; transferred to Invalid Corps, 1864.

John McKenna; age, 18; enlisted August 14, 1862; honorably discharged June 7, 1865.

Christopher Meier; age, 33; enlisted August 22, 1862; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; transferred to Invalid Corps September 26, 1863.

John Miller; age, 22; enlisted August 21, 1862; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; honorably discharged May 5, 1863.

* Bernard Van Leer Markward; age, 33; enlisted August 20, 1862; promoted to corporal April 10, 1864; taken prisoner October 1, 1864; in Libby Prison and Tobacco Warehouse, Richmond, Va., and Salisbury prison-pen, North Carolina.

William Sellers; age, 21; enlisted August 20, 1862; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; in hospital at muster-out.

* Joseph Schaffer; age, 28; enlisted August 12, 1862; promoted to corporal December 14, 1862.

Edward C. Shannon; age, 23; enlisted August 12, 1862; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; killed June 18, 1864, Petersburg, Va.

* Henry Sasse; age, 33; enlisted August 13, 1862.

Paul Schefz; age, 40; enlisted August 19, 1862; honorably discharged May 15, 1865.

William Sullivan; age, 26; enlisted August 5, 1862; died January 1, 1865.

Alfred Taylor; age, 27; enlisted August 13, 1862; died November 7, 1863, in hospital at Alexandria, Va.

* William Trefz; age, 28; enlisted August 22, 1862.

James Wright; age, 28; enlisted August 19, 1862; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; transferred to Invalid Corps November 13, 1863.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

Alfred Wrigley; age, 21; enlisted August 13, 1862; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; wounded May 9, 1864; killed February 6, 1865, at Dabney's Mills, Va.

Israel Young; age, 36; enlisted August 9, 1862; died in hospital at Culpeper, Va., January 8, 1864.

* John Zinnel; age, 19; enlisted August 29, 1862; promoted to corporal January 22, 1864; wounded May 5, 1864, at Wilderness, Va.; prisoner October 1, 1864, at Poplar Grove Church.

COMPANY "C."

Captain J. Frank Sterling; age, 35; enlisted September 4, 1862; wounded July 1, 1863, Gettysburg, Pa.; honorably discharged November 6, 1863.

First Lieutenant Benjamin H. Pippett; age, 36; enlisted September 4, 1862; wounded December 13, 1862, at battle of Fredericksburg, Va.; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps August 18, 1863.

Second Lieutenant George W. Powell; age, 24; enlisted August 4, 1862; promoted to first lieutenant September 30, 1863; died November 9, 1863.

SERGEANTS.

First Sergeant William McCoy; age, 23; enlisted August 8, 1862; killed July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.

Second Sergeant Andrew O. Sullivan; age, 30; enlisted August 7, 1862; honorably discharged May 2, 1863.

Third Sergeant William McCaffrey; age, 31; enlisted August 15, 1862; killed July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.

Fourth Sergeant William H. Bennett; age, 24; enlisted August 20, 1862; promoted to sergeant October 21, 1862; taken prisoner July 1, 1863, Gettysburg, Pa.; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps January 10, 1865.

Fifth Sergeant Charles L. Atlee; age, 29; enlisted August 5, 1862; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; promoted to second lieutenant September 30, 1863; promoted to first lieutenant October 1, 1863; promoted to captain July 19, 1864; honorably discharged December 21, 1864.

CORPORALS.

First Corporal Joseph L. Minster; age, 20; enlisted August 5, 1862; died April 12, 1863.

* Second Corporal Joshua L. Childs; age, 29; enlisted August 18, 1862; promoted to corporal September 4, 1862; promoted to sergeant

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

April 22, 1863; wounded at Gettysburg July 1, 1863; promoted to first sergeant February 29, 1864; promoted to first lieutenant July 19, 1864; taken prisoner October 1, 1864, at Poplar Grove Church; promoted to captain December 22, 1864.

Third Corporal George S. Dedier; age 19; enlisted August 13, 1862; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; taken prisoner July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; promoted to sergeant March 9, 1864; taken prisoner October 1, 1864; honorably discharged May 26, 1865.

Sixth Corporal Parry B. Holland; age 37; enlisted August 18, 1862; taken prisoner July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; taken prisoner June 2, 1864; died January 2, 1865, at Andersonville, Ga.

Seventh Corporal Daniel B. Cummings; age 44; enlisted August 7, 1862; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.

*Eighth Corporal Jacob B. Allen; age 21; enlisted August 23, 1862; promoted to sergeant November 1, 1864.

MUSICIAN.

William Allen; age, 27; enlisted August 18, 1862; taken prisoner July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; transferred to United States Navy, March, 1864.

PRIVATEs.

Henry Allen; age, 18; enlisted August 13, 1862; honorably discharged December 21, 1862.

William Atlee; age, 18; enlisted August 7, 1862; promoted to quartermaster-sergeant; honorably discharged December 1, 1863.

Martin Berger; age, 41; enlisted August 22, 1862; honorably discharged June 15, 1863.

John Barry; age, 29; enlisted August 8, 1862; honorably discharged December 27, 1862.

Andrew Bosch; age, 42; enlisted August 20, 1862; died June 16, 1863.

William H. Bishop; age, 18; enlisted August 21, 1862; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; honorably discharged April 11, 1863.

Andrew Culbertson; age, 44; enlisted August 5, 1862; returned to the 114th Regt. Penna. Vols.

Charles C. Clair; age, 21; enlisted August 5, 1862; honorably discharged March 14, 1863.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

* Louis Clapper ; age, 18 ; enlisted August 8, 1862 ; promoted to corporal March 1, 1865 ; promoted to color-sergeant March 24, 1865.

* John Cummings ; age, 18 ; enlisted August 18, 1862.

Philip Coleman ; age, 39 ; enlisted August 8, 1862 ; honorably discharged April 1, 1863.

Robert Culbert ; age, 18 ; enlisted August 18, 1862 ; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa. ; honorably discharged May 5, 1865.

* James Culbertson ; age, 23 ; enlisted August 23, 1862 ; promoted to corporal April 22, 1863 ; promoted to sergeant November 1, 1864 ; promoted to first lieutenant December 22, 1864.

* Joseph Crumbie ; age, 18 ; enlisted August 18, 1862 ; taken prisoner May 5, 1864, Wilderness, Va.

Thomas M. Carr ; age 21 ; enlisted August 18, 1862 ; promoted to corporal February 8, 1864 ; taken prisoner October 1, 1864 ; died March 9, 1865.

* William H. Davis ; age, 19 ; enlisted August 13, 1862.

* William C. Davis ; age, 19 ; enlisted August 20, 1862 ; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va. ; taken prisoner May 4, 1863, at Wilderness, Va.

Elias Diffenbaugh ; age, 30 ; enlisted August 13, 1862 ; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va. ; honorably discharged March 25, 1863.

John Dubois ; age, 40 ; enlisted September 1, 1862 ; promoted to corporal April 22, 1863 ; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps.

Justice Dunbar ; age, 27 ; enlisted August 18, 1862 . in hospital at muster-out.

Nathan C. Dutton ; age, 43 ; enlisted August 29, 1862 ; in hospital at muster-out.

William Edinger ; age, 22 ; enlisted August 28, 1862 ; discharged on writ of *habeas corpus* January 23, 1863.

* Michael Fritz ; age, 44 ; enlisted August 5, 1862.

William Flanery ; age, 44 ; enlisted August 28, 1862 ; honorably discharged December 1, 1862.

Irvin Given ; age, 22 ; enlisted August 18, 1862 ; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.

Robert Graham ; age, 44 ; enlisted August 23, 1862 ; honorably discharged January 24, 1863.

Arnold Gilhouse ; age, 39 ; enlisted August 9, 1862 ; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa. ; wounded May 12, 1864 ; honorably discharged June 12, 1865.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

Benjamin Gross; age, 19; enlisted August 19, 1862; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.

Christopher Hagner; age, 29; enlisted August 8, 1862; sergeant, reduced to the ranks October 21, 1862; wounded September 4, 1863; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps January 9, 1865.

William Jones; age, 28; enlisted August 20, 1862; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps April 26, 1864.

*David Lockard; age, 32; enlisted August 18, 1862; promoted to sergeant September 23, 1863; promoted to first sergeant November 1, 1864; promoted to second lieutenant December 22, 1864.

James Lyle; age, 36; enlisted August 23, 1862; wounded June 10, 1864; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps March 4, 1865.

*James McDevitt; age, 38; enlisted August 28, 1862; wounded March 4, 1864, at Culpeper Court-House, Va.

John Magner; age, 25; enlisted August 13, 1862; supposed killed May 4, 1863, at Chancellorsville, Va.

Francis Maguire; age, 18; enlisted August 19, 1862; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; in hospital at muster-out.

William Mahr; age, 34; enlisted August 24, 1862; honorably discharged January 7, 1863.

*John J. R. Mortt; age, 28; enlisted August 18, 1862; promoted to corporal May 15, 1865.

Charles B. Newman; age, 19; enlisted August 18, 1862; wounded and prisoner December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; died December 21, 1862, at Richmond, Va.

*Bartholomew O'Shea; age, 33; enlisted August 8, 1862.

*Samuel T. Plum; age, 33; enlisted August 28, 1862; wounded May 25, 1864.

John Ridgway; age, 40; enlisted August 15, 1862; killed May 10, 1864.

Charles E. Smith; age, 19; enlisted August 18, 1862; promoted to corporal February 8, 1863; promoted to sergeant February 10, 1864; taken prisoner July 1, 1863, Gettysburg, Pa.; honorably discharged December 15, 1864.

Robert B. Smith; age, 19; enlisted August 23, 1862; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps October 21, 1864.

Frederick Smith; age, 23; enlisted April 14, 1864; transferred to Company "E," 191st Regt. Penna. Vols., June, 1865.

*George Simmington; age, 18; enlisted August 18, 1862; promoted to musician.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

Charles E. Silver; age, 18; enlisted August 18, 1862; killed December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.

William H. Stong; age, 18; enlisted August 18, 1862; wounded May 10, 1864, at Laurel Hill, Va.; died May 18, 1864.

Stephen Shipps; age, 30; enlisted August 18, 1862; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; honorably discharged January 14, 1863.

Thomas Soden; age, 22; enlisted August 20, 1862; killed July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.

* Annias Taylor; age, 21; enlisted August 19, 1862; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; promoted to corporal May 15, 1865.

Joseph Wilkins; age, 22; enlisted September 1, 1862; killed July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.

Walton M. Wilson; age, 19; enlisted August 18, 1862; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; honorably discharged February 17, 1863.

Martin Wise; age, 44; enlisted August 18, 1862; honorably discharged February 1, 1863.

John A. Wetherill; age, 21; enlisted August 18, 1862; transferred to United States Navy, March, 1864.

* William W. Wolff; age, 18; enlisted September 2, 1862; wounded May 5, 1864, at Wilderness, Va.; taken prisoner October 1, 1864, at Poplar Grove Church.

* Charles F. Wright; age, 19; enlisted September 2, 1862; taken prisoner October 1, 1864, at Poplar Grove Church.

William Yardley; age, 18; enlisted August 23, 1862; died November 9, 1863.

* Isaac Yocum; age, 20; enlisted August 18, 1862; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.

John W. Yearsley; age, 24; enlisted August 18, 1862; honorably discharged June 5, 1865.

COMPANY "D."

Captain T. Ellwood Zell; age, 31; enlisted September 2, 1862; resigned March 14, 1863; after restoration to health, after leaving the 121st Penna. Vols., he entered service again in command of a battalion of infantry, and after the expiration of this term of service was tendered the command of another regiment by the Secretary of War, Mr. Stanton.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.



CAPTAIN JOSHUA L. CHILDS.

First Lieutenant Joseph G. Rosengarten; age, 26; enlisted September 2, 1862; appointed by General Reynolds in December, 1862, ordnance officer and A. A. D. C., serving in that capacity at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg; promoted to captain and was honorably discharged September 16, 1863.

* Second Lieutenant Charles E. Etting; age, 19; enlisted August 4, 1862; promoted to captain March 15, 1863.

SERGEANTS.

First Sergeant Samuel P. Jones; age, 30; enlisted August 18, 1862; wounded and prisoner December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; honorably discharged on surgeon's certificate December 3, 1863.

Second Sergeant William W. Horner; age, 25; enlisted August 18, 1862; honorably discharged on surgeon's certificate September 14, 1863.

* Third Sergeant Robert F. Bates; age, 19; enlisted August 13, 1862; promoted to first sergeant February 25, 1863; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; promoted to second lieutenant March 15, 1863; promoted to first lieutenant September 17, 1863; promoted to adjutant July 9, 1864; taken prisoner October 1, 1864, Peeble's Farm, Va. After being mustered out was commissioned in the regular U. S. Army, in which he is still serving.

Fourth Sergeant Erskine Hazard, Jr.; age, 35; enlisted August 18, 1862; promoted to color-sergeant; killed December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.

Fifth Sergeant Samuel C. Thomas; age, 21; enlisted August 19, 1862; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; honorably discharged on surgeon's certificate May 12, 1863.

CORPORALS.

First Corporal Charles B. Duncan; age, 31; enlisted August 18, 1862; wounded and prisoner December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; promoted to first lieutenant Company "E," 203d Regt. Penna. Vols. September 9, 1864.

Second Corporal Robert W. Dickson; age, 21; enlisted August 11, 1862; honorably discharged by special order February 17, 1863.

Third Corporal William B. Graham; age, 21; enlisted August 21, 1862; promoted to color-sergeant; killed May 5, 1864, at Wilderness, Va.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

Fourth Corporal Jesper H. Holman ; age, 24 ; enlisted May 19, 1862 ; promoted to second lieutenant Company "G," 112th Regt. Penna. Vols., 2d Penna. Artillery, December 12, 1862.

* Fifth Corporal William R. McDaniel ; age, 23 ; enlisted August 13, 1862.

* Sixth Corporal Thomas Duncan ; age, 29 ; enlisted August 18, 1862 ; promoted to sergeant April 28, 1865.

Seventh Corporal John L. Trasel ; age, 32 ; enlisted August 23, 1862 ; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa. ; in hospital at muster-out.

* Eighth Corporal John L. Harvey ; age, 23 ; enlisted August 15, 1862 ; promoted to first sergeant ; promoted to first lieutenant July 19, 1864 ; taken prisoner October 1, 1864, at Peeble's Farm, Va.

MUSICIANS.

* Henry Barger ; age, 18 ; enlisted August 22, 1862.

* James H. Elliott ; age, 22 ; enlisted August 23, 1862 ; taken prisoner May 5, 1864, at Wilderness, Va. ; promoted to principal musician September 7, 1864.

PRIVATES.

Matthias Betz ; age, 21 ; enlisted August 20, 1862 ; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps March 15, 1864.

* Gottlieb Bender ; age, 28 , enlisted August 21, 1862.

James Collins ; enlisted September 1, 1862 ; transferred to Company "E," 191st Regt. Penna. Vols. June 1, 1865.

* Frederick Charles ; age, 18 ; enlisted August 19, 1862 ; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va. ; promoted to first sergeant.

Cornelius Dougherty ; age, 19 ; enlisted August 20, 1862 ; killed December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.

William Ford ; age, 35 ; enlisted August 30, 1862 ; honorably discharged on surgeon's certificate January 27, 1863.

* John Galbraith ; age, 18 ; enlisted September 1, 1862 ; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.

John Green ; age, 21 ; enlisted September 1, 1862 ; wounded May 25, 1864, at North Anna River, Va. ; honorably discharged by general order May 26, 1865.

* Jacob Guggenheim ; age, 19 ; enlisted August 28, 1862.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

James B. Graham; age, 18; enlisted December 21, 1863; promoted to color-sergeant June, 1864; promoted to second lieutenant Company "G," 214th Regt. Penna. Vols., April 1, 1865.

Alexander Hardy; age, 33; enlisted September 2, 1862; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps March 13, 1865.

Samuel Horn; age, 40; enlisted August 14, 1862; honorably discharged on surgeon's certificate January 3, 1863.

Timothy Haggerty; age, 21; enlisted August 30, 1862; transferred to Company "E," 191st Regt. Penna. Vols. June 1, 1865.

* Samuel Huff; age, 19; enlisted August 20, 1862.

Thomas B. Hillier; age, 27; enlisted August 21, 1862; honorably discharged on surgeon's certificate October 20, 1863.

William Hudson; age, 27; enlisted August 21, 1862; promoted to sergeant; wounded February 6, 1865, at Hatcher's Run, Va.; died February 22, 1865, at Baltimore, Md.

Bernard Heiss; age, 36; enlisted August 23, 1862; discharged on surgeon's certificate May 19, 1863.

* Mangus Jochman; age, 40; enlisted August 20, 1862; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.

Henry C. James; age, 18; enlisted August 23, 1862; killed July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.

* Elan Kellenberger; age, 18; enlisted August 19, 1862; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.

John Kenny; age, 31; enlisted August 23, 1862; promoted to corporal; killed July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.

Christian Kimmel; age, 23; enlisted August 21, 1862; honorably discharged on special order February 11, 1863.

* John Kreiger; age, 32; enlisted August 23, 1862.

Christian Kohler; age, 27; enlisted August 29, 1862; in hospital at muster-out.

* Francis Lukens; age, 23; enlisted August 29, 1862.

James Lynch; age, 16; enlisted August 28, 1862; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; discharged on surgeon's certificate July 29, 1863.

John Lamb; age, 44; enlisted August 23, 1862; honorably discharged on surgeon's certificate, February 19, 1863.

John Metzger; age, 18; enlisted August 19, 1862; taken prisoner October 1, 1864, at Peeble's Farm, Va.

* Arthur Monighan; age, 26; enlisted August 20, 1862; wounded May 23, 1864, at North Anna River, Va.; promoted to corporal February 10, 1864; to sergeant May 15, 1864.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

Frank Miller; age, 21; enlisted August 20, 1862; honorably discharged on surgeon's certificate, February 18, 1863.

* Henry Miles; age, 21; enlisted September 1, 1862.

Patrick McNamee; age, 35; enlisted September 1, 1862; killed December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.

Charles W. Perkins; age, 21; enlisted August 15, 1862; promoted to corporal; taken prisoner July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; died September 18, 1863, at Philadelphia, Pa.

Charles Pettinger; age, 39; enlisted August 15, 1862; wounded and prisoner December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; wounded June 18, 1864, at Petersburg, Va.; in hospital at muster-out.

Henry S. Ruth; age, 31; enlisted August 16, 1862; in hospital at muster-out.

Charles Ragleman; age, 22; enlisted August 20, 1862; wounded February 5, 1865, at Dabney's Mills, Va.; died April 29, 1865, at Baltimore, Md.; buried in National Cemetery, Loudon Park.

Frederick Rindfrey; age, 32; enlisted August 22, 1862; honorably discharged by special order March 12, 1863.

Robert Scidmore; age, 25; enlisted August 14, 1862; wounded and prisoner July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; died October 5, 1863, at Philadelphia, Pa.

Alexander B. Stewart; age, 22; enlisted August 18, 1862; wounded May 4, 1864, at Wilderness, Va.; honorably discharged.

Aaron Shallow; age, 36; enlisted August 23, 1862; wounded May 10, 1864, at Spottsylvania Court-House, Va.; died May 24, 1864, at Washington, D. C.; buried in National Cemetery, Arlington, Va.

William F. Smith; age, 24; enlisted August 23, 1862; missing December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.

Martin Schloss; age, 26; enlisted August 20, 1862; honorably discharged on surgeon's certificate December 23, 1862.

Charles Schultze; age, 44; enlisted August 22, 1862; honorably discharged by special order September 24, 1862.

William H. Taylor; age, 18; enlisted August 13, 1862; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps February 18, 1864.

Charles Thomas; age, 26; enlisted August 23, 1862; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; honorably discharged on surgeon's certificate August 12, 1863.

Thomas Thornley; age, 35; enlisted August 18, 1862; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps February 16, 1864.

Benedix Tennenberger; age, 42; enlisted August 30, 1862; honorably discharged on surgeon's certificate March 18, 1863.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

Benjamin H. Wisler; age, 23; enlisted August 15, 1862; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; promoted to corporal; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps March 15, 1864.

Charles P. Wittmyer; age, 22; enlisted August 28, 1862; honorably discharged on surgeon's certificate January 10, 1863.

William Ziegler; age, 18; enlisted August 19, 1862; honorably discharged on surgeon's certificate March 1, 1863.

COMPANY "E."

Captain Samuel T. Lloyd; enlisted September 2, 1862; wounded at Fredericksburg, Va., December 13, 1862; promoted to lieutenant-colonel May 28, 1864; discharged as captain July 14, 1864.

First Lieutenant Charles F. Robertson; enlisted September 2, 1862; wounded at Fredericksburg, Va., December 13, 1862; honorably discharged for disability August 10, 1863.

Second Lieutenant Geo. W. Plumer; enlisted September 2, 1862; promoted to first lieutenant August 11, 1863; honorably discharged for disability January 16, 1864.

SERGEANTS.

First Sergeant William Strong; age, 45; enlisted August 18, 1862; died within the rebel lines December 14, 1862, of wounds received at Fredericksburg, Va., December 13, 1862.

Second Sergeant Samuel C. Miller; age, 18; enlisted August 15, 1862; killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 1, 1863.

Third Sergeant John W. Chittick; age, 27, enlisted August 18, 1862; wounded at Bethesda Church, June 3, 1864; promoted to first lieutenant January 17, 1864; to captain June 11, 1864; honorably discharged January 1, 1865, for disability.

Fourth Sergeant Frank H. Evans; age 20; enlisted August 15, 1862; severely wounded through neck and taken prisoner at Gettysburg, Pa., July 1, 1863; discharged October 13, 1863, to receive commission in the United States Regular Service.

Fifth Sergeant William G. Meigs; age, 19; enlisted September 1, 1862; discharged for disability, May, 1863.

CORPORALS.

First Corporal John H. Hopkins; age, 36; enlisted August 16, 1862; discharged for disability January 7, 1863.

*Second Corporal William W. Strong; age, 21; enlisted August 19, 1862; taken prisoner at Fredericksburg, Va., December 13, 1862;

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

promoted to sergeant September 24, 1863, and to first lieutenant June 11, 1864; taken prisoner at Poplar Grove Church, Va., October 1, 1864, remaining in captivity until February, 1865; promoted to captain January 1, 1865.

Third Corporal Jacob Clay; age, 30; enlisted August 13, 1862; promoted to sergeant; wounded at Dabney's Mills, Va., February 6, 1865, and discharged for disability May 16, 1865.

*Fourth Corporal Richard A. Dempsey; age, 25; enlisted August 23, 1862; promoted to sergeant December 13, 1863; to first sergeant September 6, 1864; taken prisoner at Poplar Grove Church, Va., October 1, 1864; escaped from captivity January 25, 1865; promoted to first lieutenant, January 1, 1865.

Fifth Corporal William C. Ryall; age, 23; enlisted August 21, 1862; died February 18, 1863, of wounds received at Fredericksburg, Va., December 13, 1862.

Sixth Corporal Reuben McConnell; age, 27; enlisted August 30, 1862; killed at Spottsylvania Court-House, Va., May 13, 1864.

Seventh Corporal Edward F. Tindall; age, 20; enlisted August 20, 1862; missing since December 13, 1862.

PRIVATES.

*Matthew Adams; age, 18; enlisted September 1, 1862; promoted to corporal.

James Adams; age, 19; enlisted August 16, 1862; wounded at Gettysburg, Pa., July 1, 1863; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps September 2, 1864.

*John Anderson; age, 27; enlisted August 23, 1862.

William Andrews; age, 44; enlisted August 15, 1862; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps June, 1864.

John Baker; age, 23; enlisted September 1, 1862; prisoner at Fredericksburg, Va., December 13, 1862; left parole camp at Annapolis, Md., and never returned to company.

*Jacob Benedick; age, 31; enlisted August 30, 1862; promoted to corporal and sergeant; wounded at Petersburg, Va., June 18, 1864.

*Francis Black; age, 26; enlisted August 22, 1862.

George Blackburn; age, 43; enlisted August 20, 1862; killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 1, 1863.

*Samuel S. Brutsche; age, 24; enlisted August 19, 1862.

*James Clarey; age, 30; enlisted August 20, 1862; prisoner at Gettysburg, Pa., July 1, 1863.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

John Costello; age, 23; enlisted August 18, 1862; discharged for disability October 8, 1862.

*William K. Curtis; age, 19; enlisted August 23, 1862; wounded at Laurel Hill, Va., May 11, 1864, and wounded at Dabney's Mills, February 6, 1865.

*Merrick Davidson; age, 19; enlisted August 23, 1862; promoted to corporal April, 1864.

Peter Denver; age, 23; enlisted August 16, 1862; died January 13, 1863, of wounds received at Fredericksburg, Va., December 13, 1862.

Frank Dougherty; age, 20; enlisted August 13, 1862; killed at Dabney's Mills, Va., February 6, 1865.

John E. Dugan; age, 32; enlisted August 19, 1862; discharged for disability, February 18, 1864.

*Adam Duncan; age, 25; enlisted August 23, 1862.

*Oscar Fisher; age, 30; enlisted August 23, 1862.

John Fitzgerald; age, 25; enlisted August 23, 1862; wounded at Gettysburg, Pa., July 1, 1863; discharged for disability February 16, 1865.

Thomas Foley; age, 22; enlisted August 18, 1862; promoted to corporal; wounded at Laurel Hill, Va., May 8, 1864; discharged for disability December 31, 1864.

John H. Ford; age, 18; enlisted August 18, 1862; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps December, 1863.

Stephen W. Frost; age, 18; enlisted August 14, 1862; died of pneumonia May 15, 1864.

Henry Gouldy; age, 19; enlisted August 13, 1862; promoted to corporal; prisoner at Poplar Grove Church, October 1, 1864, and died while in captivity at Salisbury, N. C., January, 1865.

Malcolm Graham; age, 43; enlisted August 18, 1862; killed at Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862.

Robert G. Green; age, 23; enlisted August 23, 1862; discharged for disability September, 1863.

Michael Hays; age, 32; enlisted August 18, 1862; wounded at Laurel Hill, May 8, 1864; discharged for disability December 2, 1864.

James Higgins; age, 29; enlisted August 22, 1862; transferred to United States Navy April 19, 1864.

*Stephen T. Hight; age, 20; enlisted August 28, 1862; wounded and taken prisoner at Gettysburg, Pa., July 1, 1863.

James G. Johnson; age, 19; enlisted August 20, 1862; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps December, 1863.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

Henry Lees; age, 24; enlisted September 1, 1862; died January 10, 1863, at White Oak Church, Va.

Richard Lehenthaler; age, 18; enlisted August 23, 1862; promoted to corporal; wounded at Jericho Ford May 25, 1864; prisoner at Poplar Grove Church October 1, 1864, and died while in captivity at Salisbury, N. C., January, 1865.

Thomas Long; age, 34; enlisted September 1, 1862; missing since May 5, 1864.

*Thomas Mackey; age, 18; enlisted August 18, 1862; wounded at Gettysburg July 1, 1863.

James R. McClintock; age, 26; enlisted August 23, 1862; discharged for disability July, 1863.

William McDermon; age, 21; enlisted August 16, 1862; killed at Gettysburg July 1, 1863.

*George W. Miley; age, 21; enlisted August 22, 1862.

Christopher Montgomery; age, 42; enlisted August 18, 1862; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps May 20, 1864.

William Naylor; age, 19; enlisted August 23, 1862; discharged for disability July, 1862.

*John L. Ott; age, 21; enlisted August 16, 1862.

*William Pendleton; age, 24; enlisted August 18, 1862; wounded and taken prisoner at Gettysburg July 1, 1863.

Albert Prest; age, 18; enlisted August 18, 1862; transferred to 17th Penna. Cavalry June 17, 1863.

*Abram Sahm; age, 23; enlisted August 23, 1862; prisoner at Poplar Grove Church October 1, 1864.

Elias Schaffer; age, 22; enlisted August 23, 1862; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps May 3, 1864.

John Shaffer, Jr.; age, 29; enlisted August 23, 1862; died December 20, 1862, of wounds received at Fredericksburg December 13, 1862.

*William Sinclair; age, 18; enlisted August 20, 1862; prisoner at Gettysburg July 1, 1863; prisoner at Poplar Grove Church October 1, 1864, and remained in captivity until February 27, 1865.

*Alonzo Smith; age, 17; enlisted August 23, 1862.

Jacob Smith; age, 40; enlisted August 30, 1862; wounded at Laurel Hill May 8, 1864; discharged for disability May 15, 1865.

*John B. Smith; age, 20; enlisted August 22, 1862.

*John Stevenson; age, 22; enlisted August 23, 1862; promoted to corporal and sergeant; wounded at Jericho Ford May 25, 1864.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

Edward J. Sweeney; age, 22; enlisted August 19, 1862; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps August, 1863.

Washington Tarr; age, 26; enlisted August 23, 1862; died with fever at White Oak Church, Va., June, 1863.

*John W. Terrill; age, 29; enlisted August 23, 1862; wounded at Fredericksburg, Va., December 13, 1862.

*John S. Verner; age, 29; enlisted September 1, 1862; wounded at Laurel Hill May 10, 1864.

Hugh Wauls; age, 18; enlisted August 22, 1862; prisoner at raid on Weldon Railroad; died in hospital in Germantown May 30, 1865.

*Daniel H. Weikel; age, 23; enlisted August 23, 1862; promoted to corporal December 14, 1862, and sergeant February 10, 1864; prisoner at Poplar Grove Church October 1, 1864; in captivity until February 27, 1865.

Albanus Wenzel; age, 21; enlisted August 15, 1862.

Augustus Wenzel; age, 19; enlisted August 15, 1862; wounded at Gettysburg, Pa., July 1, 1863; died September 28, 1864.

*Albert West; age, 32; enlisted August 13, 1862; promoted to corporal.

COMPANY "F."

Captain John M. Clapp; age, 27; enlisted September 3, 1862; sunstroke while on march from Bealeton, Va., to Manassas Junction, Va., June 14, 1863; honorably discharged at Rappahannock, Va., August 7, 1863, on surgeon's certificate of disability.

First Lieutenant Joseph K. Byers; age, 23; enlisted September 3, 1862; wounded with loss of right arm, and taken prisoner at Fredericksburg, Va., December 13, 1862; honorably discharged October 14, 1863, and appointed first lieutenant in 15th Regiment Veteran Reserve Corps October 5, 1863; was regimental and post adjutant at Camp Douglas, Chicago, Ill., 1864, and 1865, and quartermaster 15th Regiment Veteran Reserve Corps at Chicago, Ill., and Springfield, Ill.; brevet captain U. S. Volunteers July 12, 1866; first lieutenant 42d Regiment U. S. Infantry March 7, 1867; brevet captain U. S. A. March 7, 1867; brevet major U. S. A. March 7, 1867; placed on retired list of U. S. A. as first lieutenant December 15, 1870; died of consumption at St. Louis, Mo., November 30, 1878.

Second Lieutenant Charles H. Raymond; age, 30; enlisted September 3, 1862; wounded at Fredericksburg, Va., December 13, 1862;

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

honorably discharged at Philadelphia, Pa., July 23, 1863, on surgeon's certificate of disability.

SERGEANTS.

First Sergeant Nathaniel Lang; age, 27; enlisted August 29, 1862; second lieutenant, July 24, 1863; captain, October 16, 1863; honorably discharged from January 20, 1865.

* Second Sergeant Daniel B. Levier; age, 23; enlisted August 29, 1862; first sergeant, May 20, 1863; first lieutenant, October 16, 1863; captain, January 21, 1865.

Third Sergeant Solomon Rugh; age, 22; enlisted August 29, 1862; sent to hospital at Wind Mill Point, Va., January 18, 1863; discharged at Finley Hospital, Washington, D. C., May 25, 1863.

* Fourth Sergeant Quimby C. Hays; age, 21; enlisted August 29, 1862; wounded at Gettysburg, Pa., July 1, 1863; died near Franklin, Pa., April 30, 1884.

Fifth Sergeant Nathaniel L. Kahl; age, 26; enlisted August 29, 1862; sent to hospital at Wind Mill Point, Va., January 1863; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps April 6, 1864; discharged at Pittsburgh, Pa., July 3, 1865; died at Elk Township, Clarion Co., Pa., March 23, 1885.

CORPORALS.

* First Corporal James J. Douglass; age, 28; enlisted August 29, 1862; sergeant, December 1, 1863; detailed with sharpshooters' battalion August 1, 1864, and remained there until mustered out with regiment.

Second Corporal Thomas Service; age, 22; enlisted August 29, 1862; sergeant, February 10, 1864; killed near Laurel Hill, Va., May 10, 1864.

Third Corporal Blair C. Hood; age, 23; enlisted August 29, sent to hospital at Wind Mill Point, Va., April 27, 1863; died of typhoid fever at Wind Mill Point (Va.) Hospital April 30, 1863.

Fourth Corporal Jacob Shawkey; age, 23; enlisted August 29, 1862; killed at Fredericksburg, Va., December 13, 1862.

Fifth Corporal Joseph Weaver; age, 21; enlisted August 29, 1862.

Sixth Corporal John Phipps; age, 23; enlisted August 29, 1862; died at Washington, D. C., January 15, 1863, of wounds received at Fredericksburg, Va., December 13, 1862.

Seventh Corporal Jeremiah Johnson, Jr.; age, 29; enlisted August 29, 1862; died at Washington, D. C., January 15, 1863, of wounds received at Fredericksburg, Va., December 13, 1862.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

Eighth Corporal John W. H. Smiley; age, 28; enlisted August 29, 1862; sent to hospital from Brooks Station, Va., December 8, 1862; transferred to 14th Company, 2d Battalion, Veteran Reserve Corps, in 1863; discharged at Washington, D. C., June 30, 1865.

MUSICIANS.

Alvy C. Amon; age, 19; enlisted August 29, 1862; discharged at Frederick City, Md., October 4, 1862.

* Elias Harmon; age, 35; enlisted August 29, 1862; died of apoplexy, at Elkhart, Ind., March 24, 1882.

PRIVATES.

* John W. Adams; age, 31; enlisted August 29, 1862; taken prisoner at the battle of the Wilderness, Va., May 5, 1864, and returned to the regiment May —, 1865.

Solomon Albaugh; age, 24; enlisted August 30, 1862; sent to hospital at Frederick, Md., October 8, 1862; discharged at Convalescent Camp, near Alexandria, Va., May 4, 1863; killed at Tidioute, August 27, 1892, by the falling of a bank of earth while digging a sewer.

Henry B. Anderson; age, 18; enlisted August 29, 1862; wounded at North Anna River, Va., May 25, 1864; discharged at Readville, Mass., July 8, 1865.

* William S. Anderson; age, 20; enlisted August 29, 1862; wounded at Hatcher's Run, Va., October 27, 1864.

Dallas Bailey; age, 18; enlisted August 30, 1862; died of typhoid fever at Stanton Hospital, Washington, D. C., December 15, 1862.

James R. Bell; age, 19; enlisted August 29, 1862; killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 1, 1863.

John B. Bell; age, 20; enlisted August 29, 1862; discharged at camp near Belle Plains, Va., March 21, 1863.

William Bell; age, 18; enlisted August 29, 1862; wounded at Gettysburg, Pa., July 1, 1863; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps March 16, 1864; discharged July 10, 1865.

Daniel Bly, Jr.; age, 18; enlisted August 29, 1862; wounded at Gettysburg, Pa., July 1, 1863; taken prisoner at Peeble's Farm, Va., October 1, 1864; died at Salisbury Prison, N. C., December 2, 1864.

Samuel T. Borland; age, 21; enlisted August 29, 1862; corporal December 14, 1862; on recruiting service from March 25, 1864, to September 10, 1864; sergeant, October 1, 1864; wounded at Boydton

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

Plank Road, Va., March 31, 1865; discharged at Philadelphia, Pa., June 24, 1865.

Henry Borts; age, 31; enlisted August 29, 1862; sent to hospital May 3, 1864; discharged at Philadelphia, Pa., May 15, 1865; killed by the falling of a bank on Allegheny Valley Railroad near Foxburg, Pa., November 1, 1868.

*Abram Carbaugh; age, 27; enlisted August 29, 1862; died of consumption at Payne's Mills, Forest Co., Pa., August 19, 1877.

James A. Clark; age, 24; enlisted August 29, 1862; taken prisoner at Fredericksburg, Va., December 13, 1862, and was released and returned to regiment in August, 1863; wounded by a piece of a shell near Laurel Hill, Va., May 10, 1864; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps August 3, 1864; discharged at Elmira, N. Y., July 14, 1865.

*George W. Confer; age, 18; enlisted August 29, 1862.

David Cribbs; age, 35; enlisted August 29, 1862; died in Libby Prison, Richmond, Va., December 23, 1862, of wounds received at Fredericksburg, Va., December 13, 1862.

John S. Culbertson; age, 20; enlisted August 29, 1862; wounded at Gettysburg, Pa., July 1, 1863; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps January 15, 1864; discharged August 17, 1865.

Hiram M. Dale; age, 20; enlisted August 29, 1862; wounded at Gettysburg, Pa., July 1, 1863; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps February 15, 1864; discharged at Convalescent Camp near Alexandria, Va., April 3, 1864.

*James Davison; age, 24; enlisted August 29, 1862; first sergeant, August 1, 1864; first lieutenant, January 21, 1865.

Samuel J. Dodd; age, 25; enlisted August 29, 1862; wounded at Fredericksburg, Va., December 13, 1862; absent—sick at muster-out of regiment; died at Richland Township, Venango Co., Pa., September 5, 1885.

George Douglass; age, 23; enlisted August 29, 1862; wounded, with loss of eye, at Gettysburg, Pa., July 1, 1863; discharged at Philadelphia, Pa., September 11, 1863.

*William Douglass; age, 18; enlisted August 29, 1862; wounded at Gettysburg, Pa., July 1, 1863; wounded at Wilderness, Va., May 5, 1864; wounded near Petersburg, Va., August 19, 1864.

Edward M. Dowling; age, 19; enlisted August 29, 1862; wounded at Gettysburg, Pa., July 1, 1863; discharged at Philadelphia, Pa., March 5, 1864; died of wounds (received July 1, 1863,) at Richland Township, Venango Co., Pa., March 21, 1864.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

*Jacob G. Downing; age, 20; enlisted August 29, 1862; detailed with sharpshooters' battalion August 1, 1864, and remained there until mustered out with the regiment.

John Elliott; age, 18; enlisted August 29, 1862; corporal, February 10, 1864; sergeant, March 25, 1864; wounded near Petersburg, Va., August 19, 1864; discharged at Alexandria, Va., June 5, 1865.

*Samuel W. Farmer; age, 40; enlisted August 29, 1862.

David W. Farmer; age, 19; enlisted August 29, 1862; sent to hospital from Berlin, Md., October 30, 1862; discharged at Carver Hospital, Washington, D. C., December 15, 1862; died of consumption at Elkhart, Ind., March 22, 1878.

Ernst E. Fichte; age, 29; enlisted August 29, 1862; sent to hospital August 20, 1863; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps in 1864; discharged at Philadelphia, Pa., May 13, 1865.

*Henry Frain; age, 18; enlisted August 29, 1862.

*Isaac W. Fry; age, 18; enlisted August 29, 1862; taken prisoner at Gettysburg, Pa., July 1, 1863; was a prisoner about one month.

*Augustus J. Glass; age, 28; enlisted August 29, 1862; wounded at Chancellorsville, Va., May 5, 1863, but remained with the regiment; corporal May 25, 1864; detailed with sharpshooters' battalion August 1, 1864, and remained there until mustered out with the regiment.

*Frederick Glass; age, 21; enlisted August 29, 1862.

Adam Harmon; age, 25; enlisted August 29, 1862; wounded at Fredericksburg, Va., December 13, 1862; wounded at Gettysburg, Pa., July 1, 1863; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps May 1, 1864; date of discharge unknown.

William H. Hawn; age, 19; enlisted February 15, 1864; transferred to Company "G," 191st Regt. Penna. Vols., about June 1, 1865; discharged at Harrisburg, Pa., July 4, 1865.

Samuel M. Hays; age, 18; enlisted August 29, 1862; sent to Wind Mill Point Hospital April 20, 1863; died of typhoid fever at Armory Square Hospital, Washington, D. C., April 27, 1863.

William P. Hayes; age, 17; enlisted February 9, 1864; wounded near Petersburg, Va., June 19, 1864; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps March 19, 1865; discharged at Annapolis, Md., July 27, 1865; died at New Lebanon, Mercer Co., Pa., July 11, 1882.

Abram Heckathorn; age, 27; enlisted August 29, 1862; wounded at Fredericksburg, Va., December 13, 1862; died in field hospital at City Point, Va., February 9, 1865, of wounds received at Dabney's Mills, Va., February 6, 1865.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

Charles Heckathorn; age, 29; enlisted August 29, 1862; in hospital from May 4, 1864; absent from regiment at time of muster-out, and afterward discharged.

James H. Heckathorn; age, 21; enlisted August 29, 1862; sent to hospital at Berlin, Md., October 30, 1862; discharged at Fifth Street Hospital, Philadelphia, Pa., January 12, 1863; died at Edenburg, Pa., May 5, 1876.

*William A. Hopkins; age, 20; enlisted August 29, 1862; wounded at Gettysburg July 1, 1863; died of consumption at Pine Grove Township, Venango Co., Pa., August 4, 1890.

*Henry Karns; age, 19; enlisted August 29, 1862; wounded and taken prisoner at Gettysburg, Pa., July 1, 1863; prisoner about three months

James Karns, Jr.; age, 27; enlisted August 29, 1862; corporal, February 10, 1864; killed near Laurel Hill, Va., May 10, 1864.

Jacob M. Keefer; age, 19; enlisted August 29, 1862; discharged at Finley Hospital, Washington, D. C., March 6, 1863; re-enlisted in Company "G," 155th Penna. Vols. February 25, 1864; transferred to Company "C," 191st Penna. Vols., June 2, 1865; mustered out June 28, 1865.

*Henry Keely; age, 36; enlisted August 29, 1862; detailed with sharpshooters' battalion August 1, 1864, and remained there until mustered out with regiment.

William Kennedy; age, 34; enlisted August 29, 1862; died in field hospital near Fredericksburg, Va., December 21, 1862, of wounds received at Fredericksburg, Va., December 13, 1862.

Amos C. King; age, 21; enlisted August 29, 1862; discharged at camp near Belle Plains, Va., April 1, 1863.

*Alfred Koch; age, 20; enlisted August 29, 1862; corporal May 25, 1864; detailed with sharpshooters' battalion August 1, 1864, and remained there until mustered out with the regiment.

*Cyrus R. Levier; age, 18; enlisted August 29, 1862; detached duty at City Point, Va., August 4, 1864; remained there until after Lee's surrender.

*Solomon McBride; age, 22; enlisted August 29, 1862; died of inflammatory rheumatism at Canal Township, Venango Co., Pa., March 25, 1870.

*Thomas H. B. McPherson; age, 19; enlisted August 19, 1862; wounded at Fredericksburg, Va., December 13, 1862; wounded and taken prisoner at Gettysburg, Pa., July 1, 1863; detailed with sharpshooters' battalion August 1, 1864, and remained there until mustered

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

out with regiment ; died at Bradford, Pa., February 13, 1879, of injuries received from a boiler explosion at Sawyer City, Pa.

* Peter W. Mohney ; age, 22 ; enlisted August 29, 1862.

Daniel Moran ; enlisted February 24, 1864 ; sick in hospital from August 12, 1864 ; transferred to —, organization and date unknown.

John Myers ; age, 20 ; enlisted August 29, 1862 ; killed at Dabney's Mills, Va., February 6, 1865.

William Nellis ; age, 18 ; enlisted August 29, 1862 ; killed near Petersburg, Va., June 23, 1864.

Charles Nunemacher ; age, 20 ; enlisted August 29, 1862 ; wounded at Fredericksburg, Va., December 13, 1862 ; corporal May 25, 1864 ; taken prisoner at Peeble's Farm, Va., October 1, 1864 ; released February 28, 1865, at Wilmington, N. C., and returned to the regiment ; discharged at Annapolis, Md., June 28, 1865.

Daniel Persing ; age, 36 ; enlisted August 29, 1862 ; wounded at Fredericksburg, Va., December 13, 1862 ; discharged at Washington, D. C., April 27, 1863.

James R. Ray ; age, 24 ; enlisted August 29, 1862 ; discharged at Frederick City, Md., October 4, 1862 ; re-enlisted in Company " B," 184th Penna. Vols., and was mustered into service May 12, 1864 ; taken prisoner and died at Andersonville, Ga., August 1, 1864.

John W. Ray ; age, 22 ; enlisted August 29, 1862 ; sick in hospital from June 10, 1864 ; absent from hospital on furlough and died at French Creek Township, Venango Co., Pa., December 26, 1864.

* Robert Reece ; age, 25 ; enlisted August 29, 1862.

Branson D. Robison ; age, 26 ; enlisted August 29, 1862 ; sent to hospital at Berlin, Md., October 30, 1862 ; discharged at Providence, R. I., March 16, 1863.

John Sager, Jr. ; age, 22 ; enlisted August 29, 1862 ; wounded at Fredericksburg, Va., December 13, 1862 ; taken prisoner at Peeble's Farm, Va., October 1, 1864 ; released at Wilmington, N. C., February 28, 1865, and returned to the regiment ; discharged at Annapolis, Md., June 29, 1865.

John Saulsgiver ; age, 30 ; enlisted August 29, 1862 ; died of typhoid fever in camp near Belle Plains, Va., April 7, 1863.

Alfred Say ; age, 17 ; enlisted August 29, 1862 ; wounded at Fredericksburg, Va., December 13, 1862 ; wounded at Gettysburg, Pa., July 1, 1863 ; discharged at Pittsburgh, Pa., March 4, 1865 ; died at Salem Township, Clarion Co., Pa., April 26, 1887.

Leslie L. Say ; age, 25 ; enlisted August 29, 1862 ; killed at Fredericksburg, Va., December 13, 1862.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

George A. Showers ; age, 23 ; enlisted August 29, 1862.

Obadiah Simpson ; age, 24 ; enlisted August 29, 1862 ; wounded at Gettysburg, Pa., July 1, 1863 ; wounded near Petersburg, Va., June 20, 1864 ; died in field hospital, City Point, Va., February 14, 1865, of wounds received at Dabney's Mills, Va., February 6, 1865.

William H. Slonaker ; age, 18 ; enlisted February 9, 1864 ; sick in hospital from December 2, 1864 ; discharged at Washington, D. C., June 5, 1865.

Samuel Stewart ; age, 24 ; enlisted August 29, 1862 ; wounded at Fredericksburg, Va., December 13, 1862 ; wounded at Wilderness, Va., May 5, 1864 ; sick in hospital at time of muster-out of regiment ; date of discharge unknown.

*John H. Stoke ; age, 18 ; enlisted August 29, 1862.

John Stone, Jr. ; age, 31 ; enlisted August 29, 1862 ; wounded at Fredericksburg, Va., December 13, 1862 ; discharged at Annapolis, Md., August 28, 1863.

Reuben Swab ; age, 33 ; enlisted August 29, 1862 ; killed at Fredericksburg, Va., December 13, 1862.

Simon P. Swab ; age, 22 ; enlisted August 29, 1862 ; died at Gettysburg, Pa., July 7, 1863, of wounds received at Gettysburg, Pa., July 1, 1863.

Daniel Swaney ; age, 17 ; enlisted August 29, 1862 ; wounded, with loss of right arm, at Gettysburg, Pa., July 1, 1863 ; discharged at York, Pa., November 26, 1863.

Chester W. Tallman ; age, 22 ; enlisted August 29, 1862 ; killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 1, 1863.

John F. Tucker ; age, 21 ; enlisted August 29, 1862 ; died of typhoid fever in camp near Belle Plains, Va., February 22, 1863.

Wesley G. Tucker ; age, 19 ; enlisted August 30, 1862 ; died of gastric fever in Corps' Hospital, near Culpeper, Va., January 4, 1864.

Samuel P. Weaver ; age, 24 ; enlisted August 29, 1862 ; discharged at camp near Belle Plains, Va., April 1, 1863.

*John S. Wilson ; age, 18 ; enlisted August 29, 1862 ; wounded at Gettysburg, Pa., July 1, 1863 ; detailed with sharpshooters' battalion August 1, 1864, and remained there until mustered out with regiment.

*Henry Wise ; age, 27 ; enlisted August 29, 1862 ; corporal December 10, 1862 ; sergeant, May 25, 1864 ; detailed with sharpshooters' battalion August 1, 1864, and remained there until mustered out with regiment ; died of heart disease at President, Venango Co., Pa., November 19, 1879.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

COMPANY "G."

Captain William M. Wooldrige ; age, 28 ; enlisted September 12, 1862 ; resigned February 24, 1863.

First Lieutenant James Alfred Kay ; age, 28 ; enlisted September 5, 1862 ; resigned March 24, 1863.

Second Lieutenant Mark.W. C. Barclay ; enlisted August 4, 1862 ; killed December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.

* Second Lieutenant West Funk ; promoted from sergeant-major of the regiment to second lieutenant Company "G" December 13, 1862 ; promoted to first lieutenant March 25, 1863 ; promoted to captain July 19, 1864 ; promoted to major September 7, 1864 ; wounded February 6, 1865, at Dabney's Mills, Va.

SERGEANTS.

First Sergeant William H. H. Coats ; age, 22 ; enlisted August 18, 1862 ; in hospital at muster-out.

* Second Sergeant James H. Watson ; age, 19 ; enlisted August 11, 1862 ; promoted to first sergeant ; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa. ; wounded May 10, 1864 ; promoted to captain December 7, 1864.

Third Sergeant Edward Humphreville ; age, 24 ; enlisted August 18, 1862 ; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va. ; honorably discharged on surgeon's certificate December 25, 1862.

Fourth Sergeant Joseph A. Bastien ; age, 37 ; enlisted August 18, 1862 ; commissioned first lieutenant December 7, 1864 ; honorably discharged, by general order, May 19, 1865.

* Fifth Sergeant James D. Curry ; age, 33 ; enlisted August 23, 1862 ; wounded and prisoner December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.

CORPORALS.

First Corporal Edward Wells ; age, 21 ; enlisted August 13, 1862 ; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va. ; transferred to Signal Corps January 22, 1864.

Second Corporal Jeremiah O'Shea ; age, 36 ; enlisted August 20, 1862 ; in hospital at muster-out.

Third Corporal William R. Anderson ; age, 22 ; enlisted August 21, 1862 ; promoted to sergeant ; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps February 11, 1864.

Fourth Corporal Charles E. Bancroft ; age, 22 ; enlisted August 22, 1862 ; honorably discharged on surgeon's certificate March 19, 1865.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

Fifth Corporal Charles C. Carver; age, 21; enlisted August 23, 1862; died of wounds received at Fredericksburg, Va., December 13, 1862.

* Sixth Corporal John Graham; age, 34; enlisted August 29, 1862; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; prisoner July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; promoted to sergeant.

MUSICIAN.

* Charles Benkert; age, 18; enlisted September 1, 1862.

PRIVATES.

Joseph L. Ashbridge; age, 38; enlisted August 13, 1862; killed December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.

* William Branson; age, 37; enlisted September 1, 1862; taken prisoner June 18, 1864, Petersburg, Va.

William Brightman; age, 21; enlisted August 29, 1862; in hospital at muster-out.

* Theodore C. Brown; age, 19; enlisted September 4, 1862; wounded May 5, 1864, at Wilderness, Va.

Garret Cummerford; age, 43; enlisted August 22, 1862; honorably discharged November, 1862.

Tristan Campbell; age, 20; enlisted August 30, 1862; killed July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.

John T. Davis; age, 39; enlisted August 21, 1862; honorably discharged December 30, 1862.

Benjamin F. Dungan; age, 21; enlisted September 4, 1862; honorably discharged February 4, 1863.

Charles Dick; age, 18; enlisted August 30, 1862; killed April 1, 1865, Five Forks, Va.

* Samuel Frates; age, 18; enlisted September 9, 1862; wounded May 25, 1864.

* Thomas Flaherty; age, 30; enlisted August 24, 1864.

Charles Fruchart; age, 42; enlisted September 3, 1862; honorably discharged September 25, 1863.

Edward Farley; age, 24; enlisted August 15, 1862; died October 1, 1862.

Hugh Graham; age, 35; enlisted August 19, 1862; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps March 23, 1864.

* John Humes; age, 19; enlisted August 28, 1862.

* Oscar Hopkinson; age, 23; enlisted August 21, 1862.

William Hobart; age, 26; enlisted September 1, 1862; honorably discharged June 1, 1865.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

James Hamilton ; age, 27 ; enlisted August 21, 1862 ; honorably discharged May 13, 1865.

Edward Harker ; enlisted January 4, 1865 ; killed February 6, 1865, at Hatcher's Run, Va.

Robert Johnstone ; age, 28 ; enlisted August 13, 1862 ; wounded May 12, 1864 ; wounded April 1, 1865, at Five Forks, Va. ; in hospital at muster-out.

Edward King ; age, 20 ; enlisted August 19, 1862 ; in hospital at muster-out.

Walter Keisse ; age, 24 ; enlisted August 18, 1862 ; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va. ; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps November 28, 1863.

Edward Mitchell ; age, 21 ; enlisted August 28, 1862 ; discharged on surgeon's certificate March 5, 1863.

*John Mitchell ; age, 18 ; enlisted August 18, 1862.

*John McGraw ; age, 27 ; enlisted August 20, 1862 ; wounded May 5, 1864, at Wilderness, Va.

Peter McDonough ; age, 21 ; enlisted September 4, 1862 ; died June 5, 1864, of wounds received at Wilderness, Va.

*John McFarland ; age, 20 ; enlisted August 15, 1862 ; promoted to corporal March 19, 1865.

*John McConnell ; age, 22 ; enlisted August 22, 1862 ; promoted to first sergeant February 3, 1865 ; promoted to first lieutenant May 25, 1865.

William Newby ; age, 23 ; enlisted September 1, 1862 ; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa. ; discharged December 23, 1863.

*Comly S. Robinson ; age, 33 ; enlisted August 14, 1862.

Frederick Rickmyer ; age, 42 ; enlisted August 22, 1862 ; honorably discharged October 13, 1862.

*Charles Robinson ; age, 30 ; enlisted August 11, 1862 ; promoted to commissary sergeant April 13, 1863.

*Louis Schmidt ; age, 19 ; enlisted August 19, 1862 ; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.

George A. Shaw ; age, 22 ; enlisted September 4, 1862 ; honorably discharge on surgeon's certificate November 14, 1863.

John Sullivan ; age, 19 ; enlisted September 4, 1862 ; transferred to United States Navy April 19, 1864.

John L. Severn ; age, 18 ; enlisted August 30, 1862 ; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps May 29, 1865.

Jeremiah Traite ; age 19 ; enlisted August 28, 1862 ; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa. ; died August 19, 1863.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

Robert L. Valentine; age, 32; enlisted* August 30, 1862; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps March 2, 1864.

Charles F. White; age, 19; enlisted August 30, 1862; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; in hospital at muster-out.

Winfield White; age, 18; enlisted September 3, 1862; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; in hospital at muster-out.

COMPANY "H."

Captain Samuel Wrigley; enlisted September 12, 1862; resigned February 24, 1863.

First Lieutenant Edward Gratz, Jr.; age, 20; enlisted September 5, 1862; honorably discharged May 18, 1863.

Second Lieutenant Harrison Lambdin; age, 22; enlisted August 30, 1862; promoted to first lieutenant May 19, 1863; promoted to captain May 20, 1863; promoted to assistant adjutant-general U. S. Volunteers May 18, 1864.

SERGEANTS.

First Sergeant Charles Barlow; age, 23; enlisted August 8, 1862; taken prisoner July 1, 1863, Gettysburg, Pa.; promoted to captain June 11, 1864; resigned January 30, 1865.

Second Sergeant John Collingworth; age, 22; enlisted August 14, 1862; honorably discharged February 15, 1863.

Third Sergeant Samuel J. Finley; age, 36; enlisted August 9, 1862; honorably discharged July 27, 1863, to receive a commission in Regular Army.

*Fourth Sergeant Richard S. Shute; age, 30; enlisted August 9, 1862; wounded and prisoner July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; promoted to third sergeant February 23, 1863; promoted to first lieutenant June 11, 1864; promoted to captain February 1, 1865.

Fifth Sergeant William Douglass; age, 28; enlisted August 16, 1862; promoted to fourth sergeant February 23, 1863; taken prisoner July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; taken prisoner October 1, 1864, at Poplar Grove Church, Va.; killed by rebel guard at Salisbury, N. C., November 25, 1864.

CORPORALS.

* First Corporal Charles M. Wills; age, 24; enlisted August 20, 1862; promoted to sergeant September 21, 1863; wounded May 10, 1864; promoted to first sergeant September 22, 1864; taken prisoner October 1, 1864, at Poplar Grove Church, Va.; promoted to second lieutenant February 1, 1865.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

Second Corporal Henry Engle; age, 45; enlisted August 4, 1862; prisoner July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; prisoner October 1, 1864, at Poplar Grove Church, Va.; died January 16, 1865, at Salisbury, N. C.

Third Corporal Albert Miles; age, 35; enlisted August 23, 1862; honorably discharged for disability March 17, 1863.

Fourth Corporal Robert McGill; age, 42; enlisted September 3, 1862; died September 1, 1863.

Fifth Corporal William Brown; age, 32; enlisted August 22, 1862; taken prisoner July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; transferred to Department Northwest September 20, 1864.

PRIVATES.

George Aldrich; age, 24; enlisted August 15, 1862; prisoner July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; killed June 4, 1864, at Bethesda Church, Va.

* Augustus Bahls; age, 24; enlisted August 19, 1862; prisoner July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; wounded May 10, 1864, at Laurel Hill, Va.

Andrew J. Bleaderheiser; age, 26; enlisted August 21, 1862; died November 19, 1864.

George A. Bradley; age, 44; enlisted August 9, 1862; honorably discharged March 19, 1863.

James H. Bradley; age, 24; enlisted August 13, 1862; prisoner July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; wounded June 1, 1864, at Cold Harbor, Va.; in hospital at muster-out.

Wilmer A. Bradley; age, 27; enlisted August 9, 1862; prisoner July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; promoted to sergeant July 3, 1864; prisoner October 1, 1864, at Poplar Grove Church, Va.; honorably discharged May 31, 1865.

John Buckby; age, 30; enlisted September 3, 1862; wounded and prisoner July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.

Jacob B. Cole; age, 44; enlisted August 8, 1862; honorably discharged March 19, 1863.

Robert Cummings; age, 34; enlisted August 13, 1862; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; honorably discharged January 13, 1863.

Albert Crider; age, 21; enlisted August 18, 1862; honorably discharged January 17, 1863.

Eben Crosedale; age, 44; enlisted August 6, 1862; honorably discharged December 23, 1862.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

*Joseph R. Davis; age, 19; enlisted August 20, 1862; prisoner July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; promoted to sergeant November 1, 1864; promoted to 1st lieutenant February 1, 1865.

Jacob J. Emery; age, 27; enlisted August 19, 1862; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; in hospital at muster-out.

William Graham; age, 28; enlisted August 7, 1862; killed May 23, 1864, at North Anna River, Va.

*Daniel Henry; age, 33; enlisted September 1, 1862.

*John Kay; age, 33; enlisted Aug. 18, 1862.

Abraham L. Klare; age, 34; enlisted August 19, 1862; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; promoted to corporal, February, 1863; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps July 16, 1863.

Edward J. Lawler; age, 25; enlisted August 30, 1862; killed December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.

Alfred C. Matthews; age, 18; enlisted August 29, 1862; wounded and taken prisoner December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; honorably discharged May 10, 1864.

John McFadden; age, 28; enlisted August 25, 1862; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa., wounded April 1, 1865, at Five Forks, Va; died June 6, 1865.

Jacob Poole; age, 24; enlisted August 30, 1862; prisoner July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; wounded July 10, 1864, near Petersburg, Va.; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps.

William Royal; age, 28; enlisted August 25, 1862; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; honorably discharged for disability July 23, 1863.

Hamilton Richert; age, 25; enlisted August 18, 1862; honorably discharged for disability January 23, 1863.

*Davis R. Shaw; age, 18; enlisted August 23, 1862.

James A. Shaw; age, 20; enlisted August 23, 1862; died July 2, 1863.

William Shaw; age, 43; enlisted August 6, 1862; honorably discharged December 25, 1863.

Adam Wilkinson; age, 28; enlisted August 6, 1862; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; in hospital at muster-out.

Thomas Wood; age, 43; enlisted August 26, 1862; killed August 15, 1864, at Petersburg, Va.

COMPANY "I."

Captain James Ashworth; age, 26; enlisted August 22, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; commissioned major April 20, 1863; commissioned lieutenant-colonel

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

December 11, 1863; commissioned colonel January 10, 1864; honorably discharged for disability by special order February 10, 1864.

First Lieutenant James Ruth; age, 30; enlisted August 22, 1862; commissioned captain, April 20, 1863; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg; honorably discharged for disability February 10, 1864.

Second Lieutenant John Durborrow; age, 33; enlisted August 4, 1862; discharged for disability June 21, 1863.

SERGEANTS.

*First Sergeant John McTaggart; age, 25; enlisted August 13, 1862; taken prisoner July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; promoted to first lieutenant April 20, 1863; promoted to captain February 11, 1864; taken prisoner October 1, 1864, at Peeble's Farm, Va.

Second Sergeant Reginald H. Cowpland; age, 21; enlisted August 9, 1862; killed July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; acting sergeant-major of the regiment.

Third Sergeant Charles F. Neuman; age, 21; enlisted August 16, 1862; died of disease June 7, 1863.

*Fifth Sergeant Jacob Latch; age, 34; enlisted August 21, 1862; promoted to first sergeant; wounded May 13, 1864, at Spotsylvania, Va.

CORPORALS.

First Corporal John Dodson; age, 37; enlisted August 13, 1862; honorably discharged for disability November 4, 1864.

*Second Corporal Samuel Higginbottom; age, 30; enlisted August 14, 1862; promoted to sergeant.

Third Color-Corporal James W. A. Bishop; age, 18; enlisted August 7, 1862; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; died January 13, 1863, at Richmond, Va.

Fourth Corporal Albert Lindey; age, 22; enlisted August 15, 1862; killed December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg.

Fifth Corporal Joseph Wheelan; age, 22; enlisted August 16, 1862; honorably discharged for disability February 19, 1863.

Sixth Corporal William H. Wright; age, 21; enlisted August 15, 1862; died of disease June 4, 1863, at Frankford, Pa.

Seventh Corporal James Hilton; age, 20; enlisted August 15, 1862; taken prisoner May 5, 1864, at Wilderness, Va.; died October 1, 1864, at Florence, S. C.

*Eighth Corporal Henry M. Cowpland; promoted to sergeant; prisoner at Gettysburg, Pa., July 1, 1863; promoted to second

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

lieutenant December 1, 1863; promoted to first lieutenant February 11, 1864; taken prisoner at Poplar Grove Church, October 1, 1864.

MUSICIAN.

* John E. Schlafer; age, 18; enlisted August 18, 1862.

PRIVATEES.

* Howard Abrams; age, 18; enlisted August 15, 1862; wounded May 23, 1864, at North Anna River, Va.

Wm. D. Baldwin; age, 16; enlisted August 15, 1862; wounded February 6, 1865, at Dabney's Mill, Va.; honorably discharged by special order May 31, 1865.

Alfred Borie; age, 25; enlisted August 15, 1862; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps; honorably discharged by general order July 14, 1865.

Isaac Bell; age, 18; enlisted August 16, 1862; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; honorably discharged by general order May 26, 1865.

* John Bromily; age, 22; enlisted August 14, 1862; taken prisoner October 1, 1864, at Peeble's Farm, Va.

* Henry Barwis; age, 22; enlisted August 12, 1862.

* Edward D. Chipman; age, 21; enlisted August 14, 1862; promoted to hospital steward August 22, 1862.

Samuel Core; age, 29; enlisted August 14, 1862; wounded May 5, 1864, at Wilderness, Va.; discharged by general order May 16, 1865.

* John Cromie; age, 23; enlisted August 16, 1862; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; wounded May 5, 1864, at Wilderness, Va.

* William C. Cocker; age, 20; enlisted August 20, 1862; promoted to corporal; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.

* John Cunningham; age, 23; enlisted August 14, 1862; taken prisoner October 1, 1864, at Peeble's Farm, Va.

* Ralph R. Cunningham; age, 18; enlisted August 18, 1862; wounded May 12, 1864, at Spotsylvania, Va.; taken prisoner October 1, 1864, at Peeble's Farm, Va.

Samuel Collins; age, 44; enlisted August 16, 1862; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps September 14, 1863.

Charles H. Cooper; age, 21; enlisted August 18, 1862; taken prisoner October 1, 1864, at Peeble's Farm, Va.; died December 4, 1864, at Salisbury, N. C.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

Alfred Clymer ; age, 19 ; enlisted August 18, 1862 ; promoted to color-sergeant ; wounded June 5, 1864, at Bethesda Church, Va. ; died July 17, 1864.

Henry P. Dugan ; age, 25 ; enlisted August 15, 1862 ; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa. ; in hospital at muster-out.

*Francis Develin ; age, 21 ; enlisted August 14, 1862 ; taken prisoner October 1, 1864, at Peeble's Farm, Va.

Charles Durney ; age, 24 ; enlisted August 13, 1862 ; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa. ; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps February 6, 1864.

Charles Davis ; age, 21 ; enlisted August 19, 1862 ; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps.

Patrick Develin ; age, 24 ; enlisted April 4, 1864 ; transferred to Company " E," 191st Penna. Vols., June 1, 1865.

*Linford Enoch ; age, 18 ; enlisted August 19, 1862 ; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.

Casper Fredericks ; age, 19 ; enlisted August 13, 1862 ; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va. ; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps November 5, 1863.

* William Fox ; age, 19 ; enlisted August 20, 1862.

* Samuel Gibson ; age, 26 ; enlisted August 15, 1862 ; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va. ; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa. ; promoted to corporal July 20, 1864.

* Joseph Gregson ; age, 20 ; enlisted August 15, 1862 ; taken prisoner October 1, 1864, at Peeble's Farm, Va. ; promoted sergeant February 28, 1865.

* Wm. H. Hamilton ; age, 18 ; enlisted August 14, 1862.

Robert W. Harper ; age, 26 ; enlisted August 14, 1862 ; honorably discharged for disability October 1, 1862.

Edward D. Hamilton ; age, 23 ; enlisted August 15, 1862 ; honorably discharged for disability January 7, 1864.

Charles Hornsby ; age, 23 ; enlisted August 15, 1862 ; honorably discharged for disability March 4, 1863.

Joseph Johnson ; age, 18 ; enlisted August 13, 1862 ; taken prisoner July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa. ; died September 12, 1863, at Annapolis, Md.

Robert Kay ; age, 43 ; enlisted August 14, 1862 ; killed December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.

* James Lee ; age, 21 ; enlisted August 15, 1862.

John W. Lees ; age, 19 ; enlisted August 12, 1862 ; died of disease December 6, 1862, at Brooks Station, Va.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

John Lafferty; age, 20; enlisted April 4, 1865; transferred to Company "E," 191st Penna. Vols. June 1, 1865, at Washington, D. C.

Thomas B. Lucas; age, 18; enlisted April 5, 1865; transferred to Company "E," 191st Penna. Vols., June 1, 1865, at Washington, D. C.

*Edward Marshall; age, 27; enlisted August 8, 1862.

Simon Mills; age, 29; enlisted August 14, 1862; honorably discharged for disability March 1, 1863.

Edward Morin; age, 21; enlisted August 16, 1862; killed December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.

David W. Morton; age, 33; enlisted August 18, 1862; discharged for disability May 15, 1865.

*Malcolm Murray; age, 19; enlisted August 20, 1862; promoted to sergeant February 28, 1865.

Peter McNally; age, 24; enlisted August 20, 1862; killed July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.

Wharton Moody; age, 26; enlisted August 15, 1862; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; honorably discharged May 20, 1863.

Joseph Mumbower; age, 44; enlisted August 19, 1862; honorably discharged for disability April 1, 1863.

Michael Mannel; age, 41; enlisted August 19, 1862; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; honorably discharged May 24, 1863.

Patrick Maherin; age, 19; enlisted March 10, 1865; transferred to Company "E," 191st Penna. Vols., June 1, 1865, at Washington, D. C.

*James Ogden; age, 35; enlisted August 18, 1862.

Thomas O'Neill; age, 22; enlisted August 18, 1862; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; honorably discharged April 16, 1863.

James Peirce; age, 25; enlisted August 14, 1862; killed June 1, 1864, at Bethesda Church, Va.

*George Peirce; age, 21; enlisted August 13, 1862.

*Thomas Peirce; age, 28; enlisted August 14, 1862.

Robert Ray; age, 35; enlisted August 18, 1862; killed July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.

William Rimer; age, 44; enlisted August 16, 1862; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; honorably discharged June 4, 1863.

James J. Stackhouse; age, 30; enlisted August 8, 1862; honorably discharged May 15, 1865.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

Thomas Simpson ; age, 21 ; enlisted August 18, 1862 ; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va ; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; wounded May 5, 1864, at Wilderness, Va.; wounded March 31, 1865, at South Side Railroad, Va.; honorably discharged June 13, 1865.

* Aaron Settle ; age, 18 ; enlisted August 13, 1862 ; taken prisoner May 6, 1864, at Wilderness, Va.; taken prisoner October 1, 1864, at Peeble's Farm, Va.

* James Stott ; age, 21 ; enlisted August 13, 1862.

William Scott ; age, 43 ; enlisted August 16, 1862 ; transferred March 12, 1864, to Veteran Reserve Corps.

Thomas Stott ; age, 21 ; enlisted August 16, 1862 ; taken prisoner October 1, 1864, at Peeble's Farm, Va.; died December 5, 1864, at Salisbury, N. C.

* John S. Settle ; age, 22 ; enlisted August 19, 1862 ; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; wounded February 6, 1865, at Dabney's Mills, Va.

* Henry L. Shock ; age, 38 ; enlisted August 19, 1862.

Hugh Shields ; age, 20 ; enlisted March 10, 1865 ; transferred to Company "E," 191st Penna. Vols., June 1, 1865, at Washington, D. C.

John Theile ; age, 30 ; enlisted August 7, 1862 ; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa. ; died July 12, 1863.

*Edward F. Tibben ; age, 19 ; enlisted August 16, 1862 ; taken prisoner July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; wounded May 8, 1864, at Spotsylvania, Va.

John Taylor ; age, 39 ; enlisted August 18, 1862 ; died of disease September 10, 1864, at Washington, D. C.

William A. Vannetta ; age, 21 ; enlisted August 18, 1862 ; killed December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.

John T. Wood ; age, 35 ; enlisted August 14, 1862 ; honorably discharged for disability January 14, 1863.

*Alfred F. Wilkins ; age, 26 ; enlisted August 14, 1862 ; taken prisoner July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa. ; taken prisoner May 5, 1864, at Wilderness, Va.

*Frank K. M. Wardell ; age, 17 ; enlisted August 15, 1862 ; wounded May 10, 1864, at Spotsylvania, Va.

Jacob Wilkins ; age, 18 ; enlisted August 15, 1862 ; wounded July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.; honorably discharged January 13, 1865.

*John B. Wilson ; age, 23 ; enlisted August 18, 1862.

*James Welsh ; age, 20 ; enlisted August 20, 1862.

*Jacob Wettengill ; age 18 ; enlisted August 15, 1862.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

COMPANY "K."

Captain Samuel Arrison; age, 32; enlisted September 4, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; honorably discharged October 1, 1863.

First Lieutenant William W. Dorr; age, 24; enlisted September 4, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; promoted to captain October 5, 1863; killed May 10, 1864, at Laurel Hill, Va.

Second Lieutenant Joshua Garsed; age, 28; enlisted August 6, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; promoted to quartermaster February 23, 1863; resigned October 9, 1863.

SERGEANTS.

First Sergeant Geo. D. Levis; age, 35; enlisted August 12, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; honorably discharged for disability March 4, 1863.

* Second Sergeant Jas. Allen; age, 28; enlisted August 6, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; promoted to first lieutenant January 1, 1864; promoted to captain July 19, 1864; prisoner October 1, 1864.

Third Sergeant Benj. J. Fleck; age, 40; enlisted August 22, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; honorably discharged for disability January 19, 1863.

Fourth Sergeant Geo. W. Lauster; age, 21; enlisted August 20, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; promoted to first lieutenant July 19, 1864, wounded at Five Forks, Va., April 1, 1865; honorably discharged June 6, 1865.

Fifth Sergeant John Lusby; age, 29; enlisted August 21, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; promoted to sergeant-major April 27, 1863; died June 17, 1863.

CORPORALS.

First Corporal Orren M. Smith; age, 27; enlisted August 18, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; promoted to sergeant; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps, February 16, 1864; honorably discharged June 9, 1865.

Second Corporal Chas. A. Winkworth; age, 21; enlisted August 18, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; wounded at North Anna River, May 25, 1864; mustered out May 15, 1865.

* Third Corporal John Catern; age, 39; enlisted August 18, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.

Fourth Corporal Warren L. Reynolds; age, 27; enlisted August 7, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; honorably discharged for disability March 4, 1863.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.



CAPTAIN SAMUEL ARRISON.

Fifth Corporal Alfred Whitehead; age, 32; enlisted August 20, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; wounded December 13, 1862; prisoner at Fredericksburg, Va.; died at Salisbury, N. C., January 30, 1865.

Sixth Corporal Robt. Fithian; age, 30; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; honorably discharged for disability January 31, 1863.

Seventh Corporal James Sullivan; age, 34; enlisted August 19, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; wounded December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps October 12, 1863.

Eighth Corporal William D. Spear; age, 27; enlisted August 22, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; killed July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.

MUSICIAN.

Geo. Mathers; age, 18; enlisted September 2, 1862; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps July 1, 1863.

PRIVATEES.

William Allen; age, 19; enlisted August 7, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; taken prisoner December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; died at Richmond, Va., March 15, 1864.

* William Applegate; age, 24; enlisted August 29, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.

* Howard Adams; age, 23; enlisted August 19, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.

John Blackburn; age, 21; enlisted August 6, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps December 3, 1863.

Jas. Brown; age, 18; enlisted August 7, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; honorably discharged for disability December 3, 1864.

Nathan J. Blackman; age, 33; enlisted August 7, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps December 3, 1863.

James Bennett; age, 36; enlisted August 15, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; honorably discharged for disability December 3, 1864.

James Bolton; age, 23; enlisted August 16, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; wounded and prisoner at Fredericksburg, Va., December 13, 1862; died at Richmond, Va., December 21, 1862.

* Traverse Buckley; age, 42; enlisted August 22, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.

Jas. Burk; age 20; enlisted August 29, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; wounded and prisoner December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.; died December 27, 1862, at Richmond, Va.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

* Mifflin D. Cornell ; age, 18 ; enlisted August 7, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa. ; promoted to sergeant October 5, 1863.

Chas. Carty ; age, 25 ; enlisted August 13, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa. ; discharged March 4, 1863.

Alexr. B. Crossman ; age, 25 ; enlisted August 18, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa. ; mustered out June 28, 1865.

George Degitz ; age, 19 ; enlisted November 9, 1863, at Philadelphia, Pa. ; transferred, date unknown.

Jos. A. Decatur ; age, 18 ; enlisted August 28, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa. ; honorably discharged May 13, 1865.

Thos. Dugan ; age, 42 ; enlisted August 21, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa. ; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps March 12, 1864.

*Wm. E. Dunham ; age, 24 ; enlisted August 22, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa. ; promoted to quartermaster-sergeant February 4, 1863.

*Richard Eckersly ; age, 27 ; enlisted August 11, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.

Elijah B. English ; age, 20 ; enlisted August 21, 1862 ; wounded at Fredericksburg, Va., December 13, 1862 ; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps 1863.

George L. Evans ; age, 41 ; enlisted August 18, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa. ; honorably discharged for disability April 4, 1863.

Henry C. Edgar ; age, 25 ; enlisted August 22, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa. ; honorably discharged for disability March 3, 1863.

John Giberson ; age, 19 ; enlisted August 9, 1862 ; at Philadelphia, Pa. ; died March 29, 1863.

Jos. Gillibrand ; age, 42 ; enlisted August 18, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa. ; honorably discharged February 16, 1863.

Dennis Hayes ; age, 32 ; enlisted August 14, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa. ; killed on railroad while returning to duty.

*John Hilton ; age, 43 ; enlisted August 20, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.

Thomas Kirkwood ; age, 28 ; enlisted August 12, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa. ; died April 4, 1863.

William Knox ; age, 21 ; enlisted August 16, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa. ; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps 1863.

Joseph Kilpatrick ; age, 23 ; enlisted August 18, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa. ; honorably discharged November 19, 1862.

Henry Kohler ; age, 24 ; enlisted August 18, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa. ; in hospital at muster-out.

*Edward D. Knight ; age, 35 ; enlisted August 18, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa. ; promoted to sergeant ; promoted to first sergeant.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.



COLOR-SERGEANT LOUIS CLAPPER.

*William T. Logan; age, 19; enlisted August 20, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.

Thomas J. Leighton; age, 21; enlisted August 19, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; honorably discharged in 1863.

Robert G. Lindsay, Jr.; age, 30; enlisted August 18, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; promoted to corporal; wounded at Petersburg, Va., July 15, 1864; died July 16, 1864.

James W. McDowell; age, 18; enlisted August 9, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; honorably discharged for disability February 9, 1863.

*William T. McKahin; age, 28; enlisted August 6, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.

*Henry McKeown; age, 31; enlisted August 22, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.

Robert Moffat; age, 21; enlisted August 15, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; promoted to sergeant October 5, 1863; wounded at Petersburg, Va., July 15, 1864; in hospital at muster-out; honorably discharged June 15, 1865.

Daniel Mullen; age, 19; enlisted August 15, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; killed at Gettysburg July 1, 1863.

*Jonathan Moore; age, 23; enlisted August 18, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; taken prisoner at Peeble's Farm, Va., October 1, 1864.

Edward K. Murphy; age, 18; enlisted August 22, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; honorably discharged January 19, 1863.

*John Martin; age, 23; enlisted August 22, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.

Abner B. Miller; age, 25; enlisted August 18, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; honorably discharged May 25, 1865.

James Nelson; age, 23; enlisted August 7, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; promoted to corporal; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps March 2, 1864.

Samuel B. Norcross; age, 19; enlisted September 1, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; promoted to corporal; honorably discharged for disability December, 1863.

Francis E. Rymer; age, 18; enlisted August 7, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps, 1863.

Alfred Rodgers; age, 27; enlisted August 18, 1862, Philadelphia, Pa.; in hospital at muster-out.

Thomas Roan; age, 32; enlisted August 20, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.; died February 13, 1863.

*John Stufflet; age, 24; enlisted August 22, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.

* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

* Benj. J. Silvis ; age, 18 ; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa. ; wounded and prisoner July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.

* John H. Snare ; age, 29 ; enlisted August 20, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.

* Henry Stiles ; age, 19 ; enlisted August 29, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa. ; wounded and prisoner at Fredericksburg, Va., December 13, 1862.

* Samuel B. Scott ; age, 22 ; enlisted August 18, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa. ; promoted to corporal ; promoted to sergeant.

* Joseph R. Scott ; age, 23 ; enlisted August 18, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.

Thomas Stone ; age, 25 ; enlisted August 7, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa. ; prisoner July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa. ; died October 8, 1864, at Andersonville, Ga.

* Henry Stone ; age 18 ; enlisted August 7, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.

Michael Shuster ; age, 32 ; enlisted August 18, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa. ; died November 4, 1864.

* William Speer ; age, 19 ; enlisted August 21, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.

Benj. Thomas ; age, 20 ; enlisted August 14, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa. ; honorably discharged June 15, 1865.

John G. Thom ; age, 19 ; enlisted August 20, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa. ; wounded at Fredericksburg, Va., December 13, 1862 ; died December 16, 1862.

Thomas Toban ; age, 27 ; enlisted August 28, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa. ; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps February 6, 1865.

Thomas Taylor ; age, 37 ; enlisted August 22, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa. ; honorably discharged for disability December 3, 1864.

Henry Wilcox ; age, 18 ; enlisted August 8, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa. ; transferred—date unknown.

* Peter Wharton ; age, 25 ; enlisted August 12, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa.

Alfred F. Wonderly ; age, 19 ; enlisted August 30, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa. ; died May 10, 1863.

David J. Wood ; age 21 ; enlisted August 18, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa. ; honorably discharged June 3, 1865.

Joseph Wilds ; age, 23 ; enlisted August 19, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa. ; wounded at Dabney's Mills, Va., February 5, 1865 ; in hospital at muster-out.

David Worrell ; age, 20 ; enlisted August 23, 1862, at Philadelphia, Pa. ; discharged May 16, 1865.

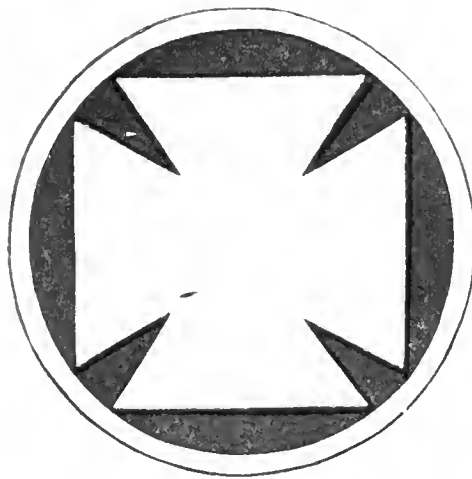
* Mustered out with regiment June 2, 1865.

At a meeting of the Committee on History, held in City Hall, Philadelphia, July 25, 1892, the following resolution was adopted:—

Resolved, That the names of the men accounted for on the rolls as deserters shall not be included in the list of men comprising the 121st Regiment, but such deserters shall be ignored and their names omitted.

JOHN GALBRAITH,
Secretary.

The above resolution will account for the omission from the company rosters herein published of names of many men who deserted their colors.



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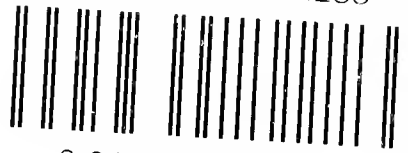
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